THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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New Year Overconfidence

At the turn of the year, overconfidence was again the greatest danger for the United Nations. On all military fronts things were going well. In Russia the Germans were being driven back both in the north and south and although American newspapers greatly overplayed these victories, there was no doubt that Hitler's armies were experiencing much more than a mere withdrawal to a better winter line. On New Guinea, the last Japanese infestations around Buna were being ended. Rommel continued to flee westward in North Africa, and the big battle so frequently predicted had not yet materialized. In Tunisia, the United Nations were hampered by rain above and mud underfoot; but they were still a month ahead of the original timetable. There, as on other fronts, our planes seemed to have a marked advantage over the enemy. Only in political warfare did we appear to stumble and to blunder. On the level of simple tactics and below, our side is extraordinarily good.

We needed to remind ourselves that Germany and Japan are still very tough indeed; that neither has given up more than a minute fraction of the huge empires she has seized; that the populations of both countries have been trained to resist privation far deeper than anything our side has yet experienced; that in both countries millions of people accept the idea of a literal fight to the death. The most we can say of our position is that in this long hard fight, the tide has finally begun to move a little in our direction.

Labor Trouble in Bolivia

The tin miners of Bolivia have now gone back to work, pending government arbitration of their grievances. This does not mean, however, that the situation has been cleared up. These workers have been horribly exploited; they work at an altitude of 12,000 feet at wages as low as ten cents a day for a twelve-hour day. The Patino Company, the most important mining firm, finds it cheaper to use human labor at this wage scale than to install even simple machinery. The miners work for the most part without shoes, gloves or any of the protective devices that are compulsory in most other countries. They are forced to buy their food in company stores, and the Patino concern planned to end the strike by the simple device of closing the stores and starving the miners out. This device was working well when the government interfered. In general, however, the government seems to be strongly on the side of the mine owners, so that whatever the miners get will come only from such strength as they can display.

Mr. Boal's Role

The part played in the strike by the United States Ambassador to Bolivia, Pierre Boal, is still obscure. Spokesmen for the miners believe that Boal is and has been hostile to them; but this is denied both by Boal and by the State Department in Washington. It is also charged that Boal on a previous occasion tried to prevent a new labor code which he thought would increase the price of tin, which is bought by the United States. A happy solution, we suggest, would be for the State

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Department, now that it has vindicated Boal, quietly to send him somewhere else, since his usefulness in Bolivia would seem to be at an end. At the same time, we might see what can be done to increase the output of tin, which has fallen off badly during the past year. The mine owners blame the workers, but the workers say that the mine owners are trying to blackmail the Bolivian government into taking off the export tax which constitutes its chief source of revenue.

The Miners Deserve Help

An unsolved problem is our relation in general to mines in Latin America which are owned or controlled by United States capitalists. Allied Labor News reports that miners are becoming restive in countries other than Bolivia: 100,000 members of the Mexican Miners' Federation have voted to strike on January 18 unless they get a 25-percent wage increase. There is no evidence that Axis agents are at work among the miners, though all disputes of this kind are of course exploited by the fascists to the utmost. If this war is one for the liberation of mankind, it is not unreasonable to suggest that we begin by improving the lot of many thousands of miners who are producing indispensable war materials for us.

Candidate Dewey

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York said practically nothing in his inaugural address and we trust that no one was surprised. It was a performance in the best Dewey tradition—side-stepping, shadow-boxing, broken-field running, and Dewey arriving at the final period breathing easily and without having come into head-on contact with anything resembling an important issue. The Governor is all for virtue and unshakably opposed to vice; we have his word for it. He is now firmly on record that social security and post-war planning, and "the continuous improvement of relations between labor and management," are worthy goals. On the question of water power, a vital issue in New York, related to the St. Lawrence Seaway program and the diversion of public water power by the Niagara Falls Power Company, the Governor said nothing. All in all, a good Dewey job. Despite his protestations that he would not seek the presidential nomination in 1944, this speech sounded to many like the lead-off in a forthcoming presidential scramble. It grew out of a simple faith that a clean-cut district attorney who watches the main chance and doesn't blow his trap might be swept along by a reactionary tide not only to be a governor but even, yes, a president. It's just like in the movies.

The Bell Tolls for Franco

Ernest Hemingway's fine novel, "For Whom the Bell Tolls," a powerful piece of anti-fascist writing, is now in the last stages of translation into a motion picture in Hollywood. There are persistent reports that at the demand of Franco's government, the story has been neutralized until it has lost all significance in relation to the worldwide fight for human freedom, and has become just another soldier-and-girl love story. These reports have been denied, but so feebly that the denial carries no conviction, particularly in the film capital, where practically all public statements are made by press agents most of whom are careless with the truth. There appears to be no doubt at all that Franco's representatives have seen the film and demanded changes in it; the only point at issue is whether these changes have been or will be made. It is hard to believe that Franco's spokesmen would interfere so outrageously in a domestic affair of the United States without at least the tacit consent of the State Department.

We confess to mixed emotions about our hopes for the outcome of this matter. With half our brain, we hope that Hollywood for once will show a little courage, and kick the Spanish fascists into the beautiful blue Pacific. With the other half, we are inclined to hope that Franco gets his way, and that the worldwide storm of indignation that would certainly follow will bolster up some backbones that badly need it, in Hollywood and in Washington.

Saving Public Money

Opponents of the present administration have long professed to be shocked by its spending, and Republicans are particularly strong on the need for federal economy. Mr. Roosevelt therefore executed a neat political maneuver by calling on the new Congress to save all it could in civilian expenditure. The comeback by Senator Taft and others, to the effect that Congress ought to look into military wastes as well, and get rid of unnecessary employees of our great bureaucracy, suggests that Congress is more eager to talk about economy than to practise it.

Congress has already abolished most of the National Youth Administration, and the CCC and the WPA have been liquidated, so that there is not much left for it to do in slaughtering its pet hates among the New Deal agencies under the smoke screen of "economy." Perhaps it is afraid that if it does not shift the emphasis, somebody will point out the huge waste of the silver subsidy—which a filibustering Senate prevented the administration from modifying in December—or the subsidy to sugar-growers or other producers of crops, which it has valiantly striven to exempt from price control. Or perhaps attention might be called to the terrifically high prices the government is paying for battleships and other war necessities. Congress could oust enough "bureaucrats" to make it impossible for us to make war at all before it came near equaling the savings to be made by paring the extravagances for which it is responsible.

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Hoarding Canned Goods

Reports in the newspapers that no great rush to buy canned goods followed the announcement of impending rationing may be attributed in part to the patriotism of individuals responding to the appeals of Elmer Davis and Secretary Wickard. But we suspect that other forces were at work as well. Anybody who has been doing marketing for the past few months would have been less bright than a two-year-old if he had not noticed the temporary or absolute disappearance of many varieties of foods, and had not felt the signs in the air, including official warnings, that a lot more rationing was coming. We suspect that many of those who could afford to do so had already stocked up, whenever they had a chance, long before December 27, just as they had bought everything else they thought they would need, and so had made the past two years a period of unrivaled retail prosperity. In doing so, American housewives were not being consciously anti-social, but merely following long established training in thrift. Most people will play the rationing game fairly as soon as they know its rules and are confident that others are not benefiting unjustly by their self-restraint.

Total Ration

Taking a tip from the British system, which is far more thoroughgoing and equitable than ours, Professor W. Allen Wallis of Columbia has proposed an interesting plan to meet our approaching need for the rationing of all consumers' goods. The British limit purchases on a basis of value, as we are planning to do with canned goods and with meat. The amount of money which each consumer may spend in any one category is uniformly restricted, but with it he may buy, for example, either a small piece of sirloin or a large cut of rib roast. Whether he will spend the ration for quantity or quality is left to his need and taste. Prices may rise and fall within this system (if everyone chooses sirloin in buying meat, the cost of rib roast will go down), but the general price level is fairly constant. Embracing this principle, Professor Wallis urges that we establish a uniform total-expenditure ration, permit expenditures in excess of this amount, but tax the excess expenditures at a steeply progressive rate. Others have made similar suggestions.

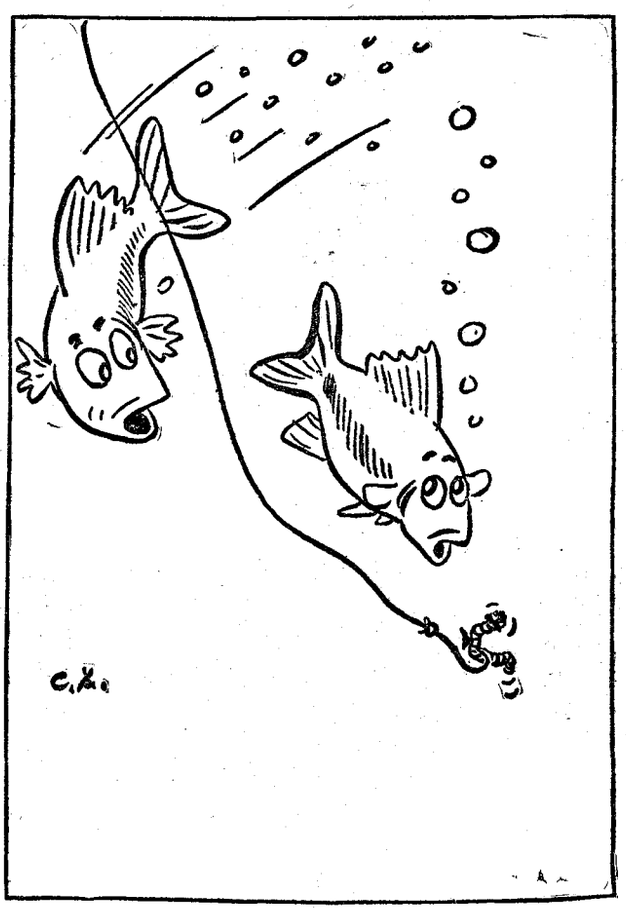
The administration of such a system, Professor Wallis points out, would be simpler and less costly than efforts to maintain ceiling prices. Briefly, we would all deduct the amount of the expenditure ration from our net incomes as reported in our income taxes, deduct also money spent for government bonds and certain other exemptions, and pay a graduated tax on the balance.

In effect the scheme is equivalent to a genuinely progressive sales tax, or spending tax, as the Treasury calls it. It would discourage consumption and choke off inflation by direct taxation, yet apportion the tax according to ability to pay. Those who held their expenditures within the ration limit would pay no tax.

Visas and Democracy

The Board of Appeals on Visa Cases has issued its first report to the President. While stating that the first consideration in granting visas must be the safety of the United States, it recognizes that the country may benefit from providing a "haven of refuge" even in wartime. One such benefit, it points out, is the effect on morale. The Board is as liberal as we could wish in its attitude toward "agitators," observing sagely that our country is strong enough to stand a few more of them, and asking whether it is "not well to remember that the agitator, as in the days of our own Thirteen Colonies, is sometimes in the right?" It lists physicians, physicists, chemists, mechanics, artisans and democratic leaders as among those who can be "of distinct value to our national life."

One cannot read the report without feeling that if the Board of Appeals had been in charge of all visa procedure, there would have been little ground for complaints. Perhaps the most significant sentence in the whole report is this one: "We feel it our duty . . .



"DON'T TOUCH IT! THIS GUY IS SUPPOSED TO BE MAKING TANKS TODAY WITH THE REST OF THE MEN."

Drawn for the Office of War Information

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to add that we have found the whole process of dealing with visa applications to be unnecessarily complicated; we believe that the individual steps in the long process too often reflect tradition or precedents carrying over from a state of affairs very different from that of today, and too seldom indicate a realistic facing of present conditions."

This is exactly what we and other critics have been saying for a year and a half. We hope, now that it comes from an official source, the implied advice will be taken. We regret that it was not taken when it would still have been possible to save hundreds and perhaps thousands of victims of Nazism who waited in vain in unoccupied France for the help from America which never came.

Ipana and the FTC

Readers of the illustrated magazines and listeners to the radio are familiar with the many virtues of Ipana and Massage. Remember the sad story of the nightingale who had youth, charm, personality—*everything*—until she smiled? "It takes a Pretty Smile to Sell a Song—And yours, My Pet, is on the Blink," the band-leader said. "You can't star with my band until you can flash a smile that travels right from the stand into the customers' hearts." But was she downhearted? She *was* not. She went home and used Ipana and Massage, and now she sees her name in lights and Ipana Toothpaste in her beauty cabinet forever and then some.

Or the Big Brother who told his sister off one day? "Live and Learn, Beautiful." he said. "You've had this coming to you. 'Pink toothbrush' isn't one of those things Fate just hands out to starry-eyed Oomph girls! Usually it's your own fault. Go and see the dentist . . . and do what he tells you to! Don't risk that pretty smile of yours, Sis. And if he suggests 'the healthful stimulation of Ipana Toothpaste and massage'—obey, little girl, obey!" (P.S. That's *exactly* what the dentist *did* suggest. – Ed.)

Well, the Federal Trade Commission has gone and spoiled it all. It has issued a complaint against Bristol-Meyers Company for its Ipana advertising copy, and has also cited the two advertising agencies which handle the Ipana business. The complaint charges that the respondents have "misrepresented the properties of Ipana toothpaste in a number of respects." According to the FTC, Ipana will not produce a beautiful smile, increase the popularity of the user, remove tobacco stains, whiten teeth not naturally white or prevent, or cure, so-called "pink toothbrush."

What, we wonder, will the Nightingale do now?

Advice and Consent

An interesting suggestion for the improvement of the mechanics of treaty-making by the United States government has been offered by Senator Wiley of Wisconsin, in his resolution that the President be invited to join now with the Senate in creating a Foreign Relations Advisory Council. The resolution proposes that such a council be composed of the Secretary and Undersecretary of State and their specialists, the chairmen and ranking minority members of Senate and House Committees on Foreign Affairs and such other Senators as the President might designate. It would enable the legislative branch of the government to confer with and advise the executive branch during the period in which treaties were being formulated. The creation of the council would require no legislation and would not alter the present legal power of either branch.

In establishing the precedent that the executive formally seeks the advice of the legislative branch in the process of treaty-making, such a council would, by implication, lessen the absolute executive control over this function. But it could also be said to increase that power, in that it would bring the treaties to the floor of the Senate with strong legislative support assured. In practice, it would probably mean that senatorial amendments were incorporated in treaties in advance. Senator Wiley characterizes his proposal as one to stimulate study rather than as a final conclusion on the subject. Since the question of the peace treaties and the whole question of a firmer relationship between executive and legislative branches of our government are at the top of post-war problems, it warrants careful and sympathetic consideration.

Civil Liberty in Kenosha

The queer case in Kenosha, Wisconsin, in which a circuit judge ousted two labor unionists from the Board of Education on charges that their preëlection pledge to "abide by the principles of the American labor movement" had disqualified them from holding office, has now been settled by the Wisconsin Supreme Court. By a unanimous vote the high court reversed the judgment of the circuit court.

The two men, Edward Weston and Edward N. Rice, were ousted last spring. No charge of wrongdoing was brought against them. The anti-labor political group which opposed them alleged that they had surrendered their independent judgment to the Union League of Voters, an organization of labor unionists, and initiated the court action in an attempt to smash the labor majority on the school board.

The case, mentioned in The New Republic last June, attracted nationwide attention. The American Civil Liberties Union and the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor entered briefs with the Supreme Court, as friends of the court, in behalf of the defendants.

Although the Supreme Court based its ruling on the legal point that the lower court had no authority to remove the men, it made it plain that "if the respond-

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ants failed at all times to exercise their own individual judgment and discretion in the performance of their duties, the remedy was political and not judicial."

While there is cause for rejoicing that the lower court's high-handed action was overruled, there remain grounds for concern over the fact that the real and admitted aim of the Kenosha anti-labor forces was to use the judicial process to achieve an immediate political purpose: to prevent the labor-controlled school board from performing its lawful functions for a period of two months until a new school board could take office.

The New Liberal Front

AMERICAN LIBERALS are showing that, although they have to learn the hard way, they are learning. They have discovered that in politics, as in war, the race is to the strong and unified; that the well trained and unified task force will in every case prove superior to ignorant armies clashing by night. Such a liberal task force has now been created to fight the forces of smugness, passiveness and reaction which are today rapidly preparing a tragic post-war world.

The new organization, which was formed last week, is still without a name. Its leader is former Sen. George W. Norris of Nebraska. Its immediate inspiration was the array of progressive strength which was represented at the testimonial dinner given to Norris on the occasion of his retirement from the Senate. That dinner, sponsored jointly by the Union for Democratic Action and The Nation, was one of the important events in the recent progressive effort. It was a remarkable platform for the inauguration of a new movement. For in it were represented all the essential elements of the kind of America and the kind of world for which Senator Norris had fought during his long and militant progressive career.

Our readers need not be reminded how critical is the present moment for the progressive cause. We are winning the war in military terms, yet in great danger of losing it as a war for a world free of poverty and anarchy and racial and religious discrimination. A reactionary Congress has been elected, and is now assembling in a mood to apply a scorched-earth policy to the New Deal and fight every effort to prepare a post-war organization that makes sense. Encouraged by their congressional victory, such organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers are redoubling their efforts to make American life subservient to a corporate feudalism. The concerted attack on Vice President Wallace's post-war conceptions is the driving wedge of a far-flung campaign against a democratic post-war world. Within the Republican Party the liberal elements headed by Wendell Willkie are being squeezed out of the party leadership: those in control look back with nostalgia to the Harding era as the Golden Age of the past, and are seeking to prepare a new Harding era as the Golden Age of the future. And within the administration itself the Southern Tory wing of the Democratic Party is pushing the New Deal forces to the wall, and the President himself is following the tactic of compromise and is making drastic concessions to them.

It was against this phalanx of provincialism, reaction and weariness that the progressive leaders at the Norris dinner spoke out. Mr. Justice Douglas, Senator Wagner, Mrs. Roosevelt, Mayor LaGuardia all paid tribute to Norris. Philip Murray and Max Zaritsky spoke for the progressive labor forces, and called on Norris to assume the leadership of a new movement. James Patton, the president of the National Farmers' Union, made a moving appeal for unity and militancy. The speech by Senator Norris himself included a slashing attack on the National Association of Manufacturers, especially on the now notorious "Hottentot" speech by its former president, William P. Witherow; it was a plea for the extension of the TVA principle, which Norris has done more than any other to bring to realization, to river-valley development everywhere in the world; and it was a warning that "when this war is over, the world must be under the control of men who have no Hitler ideas hidden in their hearts." Characteristically, the New York newspapers—except PM—failed to do justice to Norris' speech, and most of them mangled it in such a way that its full import was not conveyed.

It was out of this context that the new alignment grew. Mr. Norris is its ideal leader. He combines within himself all the currents that must go into swelling the stream of progressive thought and action: the Populist tradition of the Midwestern farmers, the militant support of trade-union organization and the raising of the living standards of the workers, the humanist aspirations of the progressive middle class. The support given to the new movement by organized labor, organized farmers and organized middle-class progressives gives a solid ground for hope that we shall have a truly broad popular base for action. The concentration of the new movement, to start with, on the issue of the peace and the post-war world means that it has chosen the most important issue of our time as its first strategic goal. If such a body has strength and wisdom and militancy, it can do an enormous amount in uniting progressives of every description.

Uniting them for what? For the continuation, rather than the abandonment, of the principles of the New Deal. For the fight within both parties to make them progressive, and particularly within the Democratic Party to defeat the forces that are seeking to make it Tweedledee to the Republican Tweedledum. For support to President Roosevelt on those issues where he is

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being opposed by the reactionaries of both parties. For heartening the President and the administration on those issues where they show a tendency to slacken, or those issues—particularly of the post-war period and of the social gains of the New Deal—which they neglect or ignore in their preoccupation with the strictly military problems of the war. And above all, for freedom and full employment and a democratic world order. This is one of the campaigns of history into which the progressives must put every energy, with the assurance that if they are not fragmented, they have a fair chance to win.

The Japanese Americans

NEWS DISPATCHES a few days ago said that there was sabotage and unrest among the Japanese evacués at the Jerome Relocation Center in Denson, Arkansas, involving waste of food, slowdown strikes and expressions of hostility to the officials in charge. We do not know at the moment of writing just how seriously these charges should be taken; but we have some information which deserves to be put on the record as a supplement to them if nothing more. In addition to such activities as chopping wood and digging sewers, the Japanese Americans at the Jerome Center publish a mimeographed newspaper that seems to be a mirror of their community life. Thus, in the issue of November 17, we read that eleven volunteers have joined the Military Intelligence Service as language instructors. They are *nisei*, that is, American citizens born in this country of Japanese parents. Saw operators are needed in the woodyard, there being danger of a fuel shortage. June Kawakami has lost her green Schaeffer fountain pen. After a visit to the Center, Governor Adkins of Arkansas has stated to the press that he found "no evidence of pampering." This was in answer to rumors that the evacués were being granted privileges denied to the general public. If they had been fed and lodged like some Arkansas sharecroppers, that would be cause for a real scandal.

The issue of November 20 reports the results of an election for block delegates that followed a California-style political campaign. Three-fourths of the eligible voters went to the polls. Afterwards the local Buddhists held what they called a "singspirational" service, while the Episcopalians listened to a sermon on "The Strange Thanksgiving." On December 1, we read the report of a strange Thanksgiving Day football game between the Jerome Jerks and the Denson Drips. Coach Dick Kunishima transferred so many players from one team to another that no accurate score could be kept. Two new instructors were added to the class in Judo, the Japanese art of self-defense without weapons.

Reading these trivial items, one begins to see a pattern—that of a desperately divided people, most of whom are so eager to assert their Americanism that they sound like a community of George F. Babbitts, but a few of whom are reverting to what they remember or what they have read of Japanese customs. Their tragedies are chiefly spiritual, since the government seems to be providing for their physical needs. They are even permitted to leave the Center, if they can find jobs and living quarters anywhere except on the West Coast. Thus, June Kawakami left for Lincoln, Nebraska (and you wonder whether anybody returned her green fountain pen). But there were at least two incidents to show that the evacués are living in what amounts to protective custody.

On November 13, three of them were working in the woods near Rohwer, Arkansas, under charge of a government engineer. A tenant farmer passed them on his way home from a deer hunt and opened fire, wounding two of them with buckshot. When arrested, he explained that he thought they were trying to escape and that the engineer was helping them. On November 10, Pvt. Louis Furushiro, one of the many *nisei* in the American army, had an even narrower escape. He was sitting in a restaurant near the Center when an elderly Arkansan fired at him point-blank, but Furushiro dodged so quickly that his only injuries were powder burns. This time the assailant explained that one of his sons was in the army and another in the Coast Guard—a strange excuse for trying to kill an American soldier. There have been incidents of this sort in other parts of the country—not many of them, fortunately, but enough to reveal an unhealthy state of mind.

If we want to transform this war into a vast conflict between races that cannot be ended except by exterminating one race or the other, and if we want to prove that democracy has nothing to do with the struggle, a few of our citizens have found the proper method.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

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United Nations: Tasks Ahead

ONE YEAR AGO the United Nations was founded. At first the concept crossed our minds in a casual, fleeting way. One year later it is being driven into the consciousness of the American people a thousand times a day. The concept of the United Nations has established itself as the concept of the future. The beauty of it is that unlike the League of Nations, the United Nations can rise in unbroken growth through its birth and infancy in the war and its adolescence in the relief and reconstruction period to its manhood in the peace.

The United Nations celebrated its first birthday gloriously in Russia, splendidly in Africa and the Solomons, doggedly in China, hopefully in Europe, the Americas, and in the British Commonwealth. It celebrated it brilliantly in a series of speeches by United Nations leaders, outlining its future. For China, Dr. S. R. Chow proposed the creation of a regional structure of the United Nations for the Pacific with its council, its court and its armed force. For Britain, Sir Stafford Cripps endorsed the creation of representative armed forces for the peace. For America, the President and Admiral Leahy demanded the continuation of the United Nations after the war, and Henry Wallace clothed the concept in a world council, and world financial and commodity agencies, to establish the underlying conditions of peace.

The administrative staff of the combined boards of the United Nations celebrated its birthday in a hard-working day in which the staff proved, in the course of its normal routine, that a practical world organization was no longer a dream, but a fact.

In the last war the administrative machinery of the Allies was simply a projection of the administrative structure of the British government. Britain was the one center of the Allied war effort, purchasing her supplies from all corners of the earth, and directing their flow into a single, narrow front. This war created two centers, in London and Washington. This division forced the United Nations to establish the new administrative principle of decentralization of authority according to ability. Under this principle Britain acts as the representative for the United Nations in executing tasks such as handling certain supplies and gathering intelligence in certain areas, for which she is best equipped. America, the Commonwealth countries and occasionally Russia, China, Mexico and Brazil, operate in the same way, within the framework of the combined boards. This principle of the delegation of responsibility is capable of indefinite extension. In a modified form—because centralization is of less importance, and representation of greater importance in peacetime—it can serve after the war. It has solved a main administrative barrier to world government—the issue of where authority and executive responsibility lie.

Of course this structure is not yet strong enough to withstand the shock of peace. It remained for Wendell Willkie to close the birthday celebration by speaking in the voice of the United Nations itself:

> . . . People obtain in a peace only what they win while they fight. . . . We will have no United Nations after the war unless we make the United Nations now a fact. . . . If the world of which we dream is to be achieved, then today, not tomorrow, the United Nations must become a common council. . . . What we need is not the hope of a grand council after the war . . . but a council today . . . an actual, working council. . .

This is the first task of the United Nations for 1943. A year ago, the objective of the supreme executive of the United Nations—the Roosevelt-Churchill conference—was to bring about an Anglo-American offensive in 1942. The logical methods of the executive was through the creation of the Anglo-American combined boards. Historically, this was the right method. While the Nazis held the initiative, the Russians could not participate in the common councils aimed also at Japan. China did not have in Washington men who could meet on terms of equal authority with British and American officials. Had the structure of the combined boards included Russia and China in 1942 it would have lacked the concentration of executive force which it now possesses, and which now can be extended.

This year our objectives are to create a second front in Europe *as part of a two-front offensive against the Nazis,* and to retake Burma *as part of a campaign against Japan based on China.* The method required for these objectives must be the extension of the United Nations' machinery to China and the Soviet Union.

In a month's time a representative relief and reconstruction council will be created. But as Dr. Chow arrives in Washington from Wuhan to coöperate in post-war planning, the dissatisfied General Hsiung and his military mission are leaving Washington for Chungking. Broad participation in post-war planning is no substitute for broad participation in the prosecution of the war.

The first task of the United Nations is to create the representative Supreme Council, with its regional and local commands, that T. V. Soong, Walter Nash and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek have been demanding. Increasingly as this is accomplished, our slogan for 1943 should be "All power to the combined boards!" Beneath the combined-board structure, we should bring the patterns of our national administra-

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tions into closer relations with each other. In 1942 we created the United Nations to aid in our separate wars. In 1943 we must make this a United Nations war.

The second task of the United Nations, in 1943, is to determine what kind of a world we are fighting for. When the United Nations was a wartime marriage of convenience of America and the British Commonwealth its purpose was unimportant. But if the United Nations is to become permanent, if the partnership is to include an imperialist power and a violently anti-imperialist nation, a nation which is the stronghold of capitalism and one founded on the damnation of capitalism, then its purposes begin to matter very much.

The demolition of the tensions that arise between a socialist and a capitalist country are largely America's task. The future program which Henry Wallace has proposed, of raising standards of living everywhere, is one to which the Soviet government will subscribe wholeheartedly. But Wallace does not yet speak for America. There is still talk in our army circles, as there is in Chungking, of the coming war against Russia. There is even a growing uneasiness in certain centers in America about the Soviet successes. The hard core of this anti-Soviet feeling, like the anti-British feeling, is the Catholic Church. Its fear revolves around the threat of revolution, mainly in Europe, but also in America. We can do a great deal to dispel this fear in 1943. Fear of revolution in America is present only in those who doubt the ability of American democracy to solve its economic problems.

Fear of revolution in Europe will also be reduced when Russia takes her place on a relief and reconstruction council, making it plain that she wants to work with us in restoring European democracy. The Communist Party also has a contribution to make. Rightly or wrongly, the American people still believe that it is actively working to bring about the dictatorship of the proletariat. It should make it clear in action that it intends to use force only in defense of democracy against a fascist rebellion; with that definitive every liberal will agree.

The demolition of the tensions that arise between imperialist and anti-imperialist nations is Britain's task. The British people, with our aid, must make it absolutely clear in 1943 that it is no part of the purpose of the United Nations to maintain the exploitation of the British colonial empire, and the other empires that stand or fall with it. Already Russia and China have lost a great deal of their support in India and elsewhere by refusing to lead the struggles of the colonial peoples against British rule.

Imperialist nations are inclined to think of world organization in terms of the techniques of rule and enforcement which it adopts. Anti-imperialist nations, when they think of world organization, think of the purposes for which enforcement is required. Wallace showed an understanding of this when he offered, as the colonial program of the United Nations, the industrialization of the undeveloped areas. But Japan industrialized Manchuria, and Germany promised to industrialize the Balkans. The question is, industrialization for whom, and under what kind of a society? British officials have made it clear that they see international organization as a means of restoring empire. But if this is to be the purpose of the United Nations, then certainly it will be no world organization. India, Russia, China, and perhaps America, will refuse to participate in such a system. In 1943, the days of colonial exploitation should be numbered.

Britain must pay a heavy price for the United Nations. So must we. The third task of the United Nations in 1943 is to make clear that the future lies with it. At the same time, it must make sure that the future will be democratic, not simply by a generous reconstruction program but by making it possible for democracy in Britain to survive the tremendously hard time that the abolition of empire exploitation involves. This means heavy economic commitments by America and other creditor nations to a financial agency of the United Nations, which should be created in 1943. As an act of faith we need, also, military commitments, a series of twenty-year pacts of mutual assistance, signed among America, Russia, China and Britain. In general, coöperation between governments has advanced far ahead of coöperation between legislatures in the United Nations. In 1943 our legislatures must move closer together, and give political commitments about the future of world organization.

The fourth task of the United Nations in 1943 is our task. We must come to see the United Nations as the organization, not of twenty-nine governments, but of a thousand million people. We need our own United Nations International; we are establishing it in the Free World Association. In 1943 we must make this a great world movement whose American section will be so strong that it will force the issue of our role in world government out of American politics by 1944.

More than ever, in 1943, this must be a people's war. Nineteen hundred and forty-three must be the year of continental invasion. If the peoples of the continents of Europe and Asia see us as liberators they will rise up as we come, and annihilate the fascists. If they are indifferent to us, we shall grind forward at a terrible cost.

If we accomplish these four tasks in 1943 we can make this struggle a United Nations war for a United Nations world. For the peoples of the world, this would be a new Emancipation Proclamation. Like Lincoln's, it would be a great war measure, bringing the war to a swifter, more decisive conclusion, saving hundreds of thousands of lives. We must bring this home to every family with a stake in this war. It is deeply and urgently true.

Washington MICHAEL STRAIGHT

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Giraud and the Future of France

If man is, as Aristotle defined him, a political animal, then the French are the most human of us all. Politics is in their blood and political differences are many and bitter. There were more than twenty political groups and parties in France before the defeat, and there are at least as many differing points of view about political questions today.

This is not a sign of weakness but of strength. Not, to be sure, the strength of regimented legions like Hitler's, but the strength of free men able and eager to think for themselves and express their views. Even today, the French spirit is as free as it ever was, or ever will be. Which is to say as free a spirit as civilized man has ever achieved. It is therefore no surprise to learn that France is now rent by political differences. On the contrary, because there is so much more at stake today than there was before, it is only natural that French political passions should be running high. It would be a dark omen for the future of the free world, to which France has so much to contribute, if this were not so.

Yet the news that General Henri Honoré Giraud has felt obliged to arrest, on suspicion of plotting further assassinations, twelve Frenchmen, including two who helped pave the way for the American occupation of French North Africa and French Morocco, has occasioned consternation and dismay in America. The fact that we have been surprised by it shows how little we have understood the French position, how poor in quality, though admittedly great in quantity, our information about France has been.

It is a fact that, whether rightly or wrongly, a good many Frenchmen who were not in any way pro-German put their trust in Pétain after the defeat. To them he was the national hero who would save France by political means after her army had been scattered. They called him *"un vieux renard qui sait rouler les allemands,"* [1] and when he made a speech which sounded defeatist or even pro-German, they explained it by saying that he was "pulling the wool over the eyes of the Boches." Because Vichy propaganda counseled blind obedience to the Marshal (*"Obéir et se taire"* [2]), the most ardent of Pétain's supporters followed him through the tortuous ways of Vichy's foreign relations, and jumped to attention whenever he commanded. Especially the young men among them, the same who in Germany and Italy were the backbone of the Nazi and fascist movements, rallied to Pétain's orders, displaying truly fanatical faith in his ability to save France from the Germans. Because they were so devoted to the Marshal these young men were bitterly hostile to anyone, whether de Gaullist or other, who seemed to contravene his will.

It is impossible to say how numerous this group was, but that it constituted an important force in French political life there can be no doubt.

On the other hand, the great majority of the French remained democrats at heart, and if they did not consider themselves de Gaullists, at least they believed that other methods than the Marshal's were necessary if France were ever again to rise from the ashes of her defeat. Most of them looked to America to overcome the Germans, and they confidently believed that when American troops set foot on French soil, as they fully expected them to do, the Vichy regime would be swept away and the institutions of the Republic restored.

Many attached more importance to the resurrection of democracy in France than they did to the downfall of the Germans. They recognized that others would have to defeat the Germans in battle: what they as Frenchmen valued most highly was the return to democratic government in France.

In the light of these differing attitudes, far from being surprising, it is natural and even inevitable that there should be Frenchmen in both camps who now want to vent in assassinations the pent-up feelings which the recent events in Africa evoked. The Pétainists among them must certainly feel that Darlan, Giraud and the members of Darlan's Imperial Council have betrayed the Marshal to save their own skins. They will certainly never believe that these men were acting with the secret approval of the Marshal, for the Marshal has given them the lie, and while ready to believe that he might make a collaborationist speech to fool the Germans, they will never admit that the Germans could force him to denounce his own accomplices. For him to do so would be contrary to the code of honor on which he has always insisted.

We may think it equally dishonorable to make collaborationist speeches, but to the admirers of Marshal Pétain there is an important, if subtle, difference: the one tricks only the Germans—the enemy; the other tricks the very men who have previously been the Marshal's own closest associates. At least that is certainly the way the young French fascists would argue. And some of them would surely want to kill the men who betrayed their soldier-patriot hero.

The disillusionment of the men of the other group must be only too obvious. They surely greeted the first news of the American landings with unbounded joy, not only because it meant the beginning of the end of the German domination of France but also, and perhaps even more importantly, because they

1 "An old fox who knows how to fool the Germans."
2 "Obey and keep silent."

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firmly believed that it meant the immediate end, at least in Africa, of the Vichy regime and all it stands for. Imagine, then, the bitterness of their dismay when they saw Darlan, who was undoubtedly the second most hated man in France (Laval being the first), climbing on the American bandwagon, followed by the whole lot of Vichy officials who only a few days before had been directing the resistance to American occupation.

Since the head of the American diplomatic mission to Africa, Robert Murphy, was the responsible American official most deeply involved in the intrigues which brought about this astounding result, it was as inevitable that he should have called down on his head the wrath of the faithful followers of Marshal Pétain, whom, in their view, he craftily and unscrupulously tricked, as it was that he should have earned the undying hatred of French democrats, who equally felt that they had been shamelessly betrayed.

The case of General Giraud is a special one, and requires special attention. Too much has been made of his heroic and even romantic escapes, and too little has been said about his politics and his military insight, or lack of it.

Henri Honoré Giraud is a general of the old school, with all that that means. A graduate of St. Cyr who has lived his entire life in the army, he is a reactionary who has made no secret of his distrust of democratic institutions. For that reason he never succeeded to the post of commander-in-chief of the French armies which might otherwise have been his, and General Gamelin remained at a desk where General Giraud might have acquitted himself less badly.

Yet it is not even certain that Giraud is a better general than Gamelin. Much of his military experience has been gained in Africa, where he was one of Marshal Lyautey's "young men" even before the war of 1914-18, and to which he returned afterward, to play a leading role in putting down the Riff rebellion. (The campaign was directed by Marshal Pétain.)

Giraud was recalled to France in 1936 and placed in charge of the forts at Metz. Here he came into frequent contact with General de Gaulle, but the two men got on very badly together, for like most of the older generals, Giraud was impatient of de Gaulle's new-fangled ideas, preferring to put his confidence in the principles of static defense which seem almost to have bewitched the French General Staff, to the immense advantage of the Germans. Even after the war had begun, when Giraud was in command of the French Seventh Army in the Dunkirk-Lille sector, he expressed the opinion that Germany would be committing suicide if she should attempt an offensive against France. When, in the opening days of that offensive, the Germans succeeded in making a breach between the Second Army, under General Huntzinger, and the Ninth Army, under General Corap, Giraud was given Corap's command. Having by that time seen how completely unsuited to modern mechanized warfare the principles of static defense were, he made an eleventh-hour attempt to rally his forces for an attack. But it was already too late. He became a prisoner of the Germans four days after assuming his new command.

About the organizing of his escape from the fortress prison of Königstein, in Saxony, nothing is known for certain. According to one story it was arranged by the French Deuxième Bureau, the intelligence service of the French army. According to another, it was engineered by American intelligence officers.

Only one thing seems certain, and that is that he had help. Where it came from we can only guess. As it has been officially revealed that his passage from continental France to Africa was made in an English submarine commanded by an American naval officer, we will perhaps not be far wrong in assuming that the same two powers had something to do with getting him out of Königstein.

Obviously the whole thing was carefully planned in advance. The plan was to have Giraud appeal to the Vichy men in Africa to cease resisting the American army and join it in a common action against the Germans. The only trouble with the plan was that it didn't work. Giraud made his appeal within twenty-four hours after the first American troops landed, but only one French general, General Béthouart, in Morocco, responded to it, and General Noguès promptly made him prisoner.

Is Giraud a Pétain man? We don't know. It is said that when he first arrived in Vichy, the Marshal asked him to sign an agreement never again to take up arms against the Germans, and that he refused. On the other hand, when he made his unsuccessful appeal to the Vichy commanders in Africa, Radio Vichy immediately retorted (*before* the German occupation of unoccupied zone) by reading the text of a letter which Giraud was said to have written the Marshal the previous June:

> *Monsieur le Maréchal* [it began]: Following our recent conversations and to remove any doubts about my attitude, I wish to express to you my feelings of perfect loyalty. You have been kind enough to explain to me, as has the Chief of Government [M. Laval], the policy you intend to follow with regard to Germany. I am in full agreement with you. I give you my word as an officer that I will not do anything which might render awkward the relations with the German government or which would handicap the task which you have entrusted to Admiral Darlan and M. Laval to accomplish under your high authority. My past is a guarantee of my loyalty.

Whether it is genuine or not, the fact that this letter was read over the Vichy radio is enough in itself to explain why some of the fanatical young followers of Marshal Pétain might now be contemplating with

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some enthusiasm the possibility of putting a bullet through General Giraud. It is not a question of the alleged French insistence on legitimacy (which has been much exaggerated anyway), but rather of the outraged feelings of youthful hero-worshipers, who have found in the aged Marshal a perfect father substitute.

Despite his spotless record so far as unwavering opposition to the Germans is concerned, it is also understandable that French republicans should now be opposed to Giraud. He had always previously held himself aloof from politics, and if he was known to have anti-republican views the fact was of little moment as long as he attended strictly to his business of being a soldier. Today, however, he occupies a political post. Inevitably he will be forced to take positions, and consequently to make enemies, if he has not already done so. The mere fact that he has retained the Darlan council has almost certainly won him enemies already.

The truth is that France is in a state of civil war, latent, but none the less real for that. Not everyone has yet taken sides in that war, but sooner or later few will escape the hard necessity of choosing. The war is not between pro and anti-Germans. (There are so few pro-Germans in France that they could never make a civil war anyway.) It is between republicans and authoritarians. It is another French revolution which is in the making, a revolution against the counter-revolution which was imposed on France in July, 1940, and which has been perpetuated in French Africa by Darlan *and* Giraud. And in this incipient civil war the United States has now clearly and unequivocally chosen the side of counter-revolution. We have spurned republicanism and chosen authoritarianism.

I know that the official position is that we are scrupulously avoiding interference in French internal affairs, accepting the collaboration of such officials as we happen to find in power until such time as the French people themselves are able to elect officials of their own choice. But the excuse rings false.

Everyone knows—indeed literally no one denies—that the members of the late lamented Admiral's Imperial Council are not the men whom the French would choose if they were able to choose. Men like Generals Chatel, Juin and Noguès and Governor-General Boisson would never be where they are if Admiral Darlan had not placed them there, and Darlan would never have had the political power to place them there if the authoritarians in French society had not profited from the defeat to destroy the Republic. In other words, if Germany had not intervened decisively in French internal affairs two and a half years ago, we would not be faced today with the moral problem of whether or not to intervene ourselves. Non-intervention is a beautiful theory; but when, as in the case of Spain, it is observed only by the democracies, it leaves something to be desired.

But the present French government in Africa is not only not a government which meets the wishes of the French people. It is not even a "legitimate" government in the purely legal sense. It is rather a government imposed by a *coup d'état*, the great Laval *coup* of July, 1940. The French Parliament had many powers, but one power it did not have was the power to abolish the Republic. Yet by ceding its powers to Marshal Pétain it did just that. It is therefore perfectly possible to make out a case (which ought to be satisfactory to the stickiest State Department jurist) for returning to the *status quo ante*.

In the case of French Africa the mechanism is ready to hand. According to a law of 1872, when the central government of France is prevented from functioning because of the presence of enemy forces, or for any other reason, the powers it formerly exercised shall pass to the Conseils Généraux of those *départements* which are not occupied.

Fortunately, the three *départements* of Algeria are a part of metropolitan France, and most of the members of their Conseils Généraux (which correspond roughly to our own state legislatures) are still available, and *in Africa*. Furthermore, not to be too juridical, and overlook practical results, they are strongly republican, just as they were in continental France.

It has been argued that, because it is a typically colonial area, French Africa is of course fascist at heart. But this is simply not true. The last elected mayor of Algiers was a socialist. (Vichy replaced him, unconstitutionally, by a fascist.) There had been one elected deputy from Oran, a priest, who was an anti-Semite and probably a fascist. But he was the only one. All the rest were republicans. So were all the members of the Conseils Généraux.

And most of them, despite Vichy, are still alive and kicking and ready to constitute the only legitimate civil government France can have today. They have even written to President Roosevelt to protest against the usurpation of their powers by the Vichy interlopers and to urge him to see that French law is honored.

Since our choice has obviously been a deliberate one (indeed, it has been one in which we have stubbornly persisted despite a worldwide outcry against it), and since there seems to be no excuse for it, practical or juridical, which will stand up under analysis, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it has been dictated by officials who are consciously or unconsciously in sympathy with the thinking of Vichy.

Chief among them is of course Robert Murphy. Mr. Murphy has had honor after honor heaped upon him as the result of his work in preparing the way for the occupation. One of the latest of these is an article by Demaree Bess in The Saturday Evening Post which begins with an absurd misstatement of fact and continues through many thousands of words of totally uncritical eulogy. But the truth seems to be somewhat

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different from the official version, which the Bess article presumably reflects. Murphy apparently rashly assumed that the Vichymen in Africa would put up only a token resistance to our occupation if they did not immediately join us. Actually the resistance was exceedingly stiff, so stiff that we had to sink twenty-two units of the French fleet before we could occupy Casablanca, for instance. We succeeded not because the Vichy men failed to fight us, but because we surprised them: they had never supposed that we would have the temerity to venture deep into the Mediterranean and land on the coast of Algeria. If it had not been for that element of surprise, our expedition might have ended in disaster.

Why was Murphy so badly informed? The answer can only be speculative but is surely not without relation to his character and sympathies. He is an Irish Catholic who was said in Paris to be sympathetic to Laval and the counter-revolutionaries long before the war. He was, for instance, a friend of Henry-Haye, and took many cues from him. When he was in Africa he used to boast that he accompanied Weygand to mass every morning and "had him in his pocket." Obviously his relations with the extreme right in French politics were warm and those he had with republicans correspondingly cool.

Yet it was men of that same extreme right who preferred an armistice in June, 1940, to continuing the war because they feared that the war, if continued, would bring profound social changes. It was men of that same extreme right who fought us in Africa, not so much because they wanted to do the Germans' bidding as because they feared that our coming would undo the reactionary "reforms" of Vichy. When they discovered that we had no intention of reversing Vichy's reactionary works, but were planning to pursue a policy of "non-intervention" in internal French affairs, they were naturally delighted, for they could now hope to reënter the war and avoid the social changes they so greatly feared. Thus today Vichy propaganda continues as usual in the African newspapers, anti-foreign, anti-Semitic, anti-democratic, exactly as though the Americans had not come at all, and a government of fascist usurpers continues to rule the only part of metropolitan France which is not under the conqueror's heel, while the men who constitute the only legitimate and democratic government France can hope for today are ignored by everybody.

There is nothing astonishing in the fact that Frenchmen of all political faiths should be ready to assassinate. The astonishing thing is that America should be capable of pursuing such a policy.

VARIAN FRY

The OPA Must Fight

A WEEK OR TWO ago there appeared in papers subscribing to the Chicago Tribune Syndicate a cartoon bearing the caption, "Rationing the Bill of Rights." It pictured Leon Henderson, armed with shears and holding aloft that document, merrily snipping it to tatters. Looking on joyfully were several grotesques representing Ben Cohen, Henry Wallace, Harry Hopkins and Mr. Justice Byrnes, while Earl Browder, in prison garb, grinned as he pointed to Byrnes's pocket, where he had thrust the Communist Party platform.

Just so did the venal vermin press of Paris raise the cry, "Red menace!" to weaken France's respect for the Republic, make mush of the Frenchman's will to fight and soften *la Patrie* for the coming of the panzer divisions.

That cartoon can do more harm than blowing up a powder plant. The powder plant can be rebuilt. Not so easily can a people's confidence in their commander-in-chief and their program be restored.

This calculated thrust at the fighting heart of America is but the boldest manifestation of developments which have made the price-rent-rationing job the foremost political problem in the country.

It is no accident that Colonel McCormick chooses this particular sector of the Inner Front for his attack. Many a lesser foe of the President and the win-the-war program has picked this sector, too. For the ubiquitous task of the Office of Price Administration, conceived as the keystone of the Roosevelt seven-point economic stabilization program, has turned out to be the Achilles heel of America's war effort.

It is an ominous development, for these seven points are the bedrock foundations of our citadel. If they crumble we may well be lost.

It is perfectly clear why the OPA program has become the chink in the armor. There are three reasons:

1. The OPA reaches into every family in America.
2. It bears the brunt of every household's irritations with the countless small restrictions imposed on the people by total war.
3. Its sweeping mandate, and its continental operations, make it a natural habitat for buck-passing.

If a man must go off to work in the morning without his coffee, it is easy for him to blame the OPA. If he is denied a "B" card under the rules of the game, it is only too easy for the man at the local board to join him in deploring "them bureaucrats at Washington." If the cumbersome business of instituting rent ceilings in his town means a delay in checking a rise, it is a simple thing for the landlord to steer his com-

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plaints toward the distant state, or regional, or national office. And if the corner grocer chisels on the price of cornflakes, both customer and chiseler can take comfort in the baffling confusion of posted prices, exemptions, filing dates and the rest.

All these have been aided by Dame Rumor in fertilizing the field in which the Inner Axis sows its seed. The rumors most common and most damaging are of the "my uncle heard a fellow say that he heard from a friend" type, and they deal with alleged mountains of tires, sugar piled high, "rackets" in coffee and oil.

Together, these characteristics of the OPA program conspire to render it an easy target for exploitation by all and sundry who wish for whatever reason, international or personal, to weaken our faith in our leaders and our will to fight this war to victory.

One of the gravest problems is that many of those assisting in the campaign of destruction and division, unlike McCormick, do so without realizing what they are about. Their work in behalf of the crafty men who use them against the welfare of the nation is hard to get at.

It is hard to get at, for it would be absurd to argue that the OPA has made no mistakes. It has made plenty of them. Driven by the relentless requirements of war; harried on every hand by pressures from business, labor, farmers, housewives, other agencies and Congress; staffed in a terrific hurry, it has come plenty of croppers in the course of its stormy life.

But it has also fought well and hard in support of its basic principles in the main, alienating as it fought those special interests which have most to gain immediately through the wreckage of price control. It has saved the country billions which would otherwise have flowed beyond recovery down inflation's sewer.

But, most important, it has represented to millions of plain citizens proof that their government had the guts to tackle the Herculean task of covering their economic rear that they might fight the battle of production without fear of the collapse which would follow skyrocketing prices.

Our counter-offensive must possess two qualities: It must be anchored in the only place that can possibly hold—in the people themselves. And it must be undertaken with the clearest understanding of the OPA's political role. Until price control, rent control and rationing are seen for what they are, *political weapons* for winning this war, the OPA will remain the soft spot in the line.

This is to say that the OPA must from now on consider that its prime assignment is mobilizing the will of America to win this war. No other analysis is possible in the face of the Inner Axis' decision to use the OPA to weaken America's will to win.

It is up to the OPA, with the active aid of the public, to launch now a campaign of guerrilla warfare behind the enemies' lines while it brings up reinforcements on the national front to support the counter-offensive. We must have guerrilla warfare—under the guidance of local boards where possible, but without such guidance where necessary—because the OPA's operations must now become increasingly local as the policy-making period settles to routines.

The OPA must therefore undertake to locate those members of its personnel who are hostile to the job in hand, and either replace them or, where replacement is not possible, isolate them so they can do as little damage as possible.

The next point is to enlarge its forces by expanding the number of boards in crowded areas to make possible closer contact with the public through better service. At the same time, and for the same reason, it should expand the personnel of all boards to expedite the handling of the public.

The third step must be the enlisting of two new categories of fighters for each local board. First, a price panel, or enforcement panel, to which is attached a flying squadron of volunteer price wardens, trained and sworn by the OPA. Second, a public-information panel charged with three tasks: giving out facts about the developing OPA program, organizing at the neighborhood level consumer action to support the program, and finally, with operating a rumor clinic, or decontamination squad, to clear the local air of lies given currency by the Inner Axis or by the misinformed.

In taking these steps, let the OPA remember the first of them well: the new recruits must be partisans of the program. Best rule-of-thumb for finding them: draw them from among the men and women with most at stake, the production workers of rural and urban America.

Having organized its fighter units, the OPA must next supply them with weapons. These are ready at hand, and their types are three: price control, rent control and rationing.

At this point we come to the problem faced by the OPA in gathering reinforcements at its national staff headquarters. It cannot arm its fighters well without money and authority. To gather these raw materials it must have the political support of the partisans of the President's seven-point program and its price-rent-rationing parts. In realistic terms, this means it must have the backing of the labor movement, and of all other organizations of the people—from the Farmers' Union to the National Association for Advancement of Colored People and the League of Women Voters.

But the OPA must not await the coming of Congress and the fight then for more money. It must not await passage of the Tolan-Kilgore-Pepper bill which will put the rationing authority under one roof. It can distribute now the weapons at hand.

It can issue orders to its legal division to file now in every city of 100,000 population or more its best cases involving black markets and price-chiseling.

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It can begin calling a spade a spade in its public statements. It can name without fear the real-estate combine which tries to throttle rent control. It can cite the big retailers who are the bellwethers among price violators. It can tell the public the cold truth.

It can restore the atrophied functions of the Consumer Division under whatever name.

It can declare at once a fixed and understandable policy with respect to profits, determine that wage increases come out of those profits where increases are warranted and explain to the public why subsidies are necessary in certain cases.

It can streamline its price-control regulations to eliminate the baffling system which now confuses little retailer and consumer alike.

It can give its Standards Division a much broader mandate to write into price regulations safeguards of quality and quantity to prevent hidden increases.

It can plunge ahead with point rationing, taking care in advance to see that it is carefully explained to the public.

Finally, it can draw an important lesson from the AAA. The AAA also has a continental scope, with local personnel in every township, just as the OPA has its local boards. The AAA learned to its sorrow that it had to educate its committeemen before it could hope to educate farmers. Townships where committeemen remained unconvinced were townships where opponents of the program found most fertile soil for the tactics of distrust and division.

Let the OPA then lose no time in carefully explaining its program, its reasons, its difficulties, to the men and women who man its local boards. Informed, they will be effective guerrilla fighters.

Let every American remember that when he takes part in Colonel McCormick's drive against the OPA he is taking part in activities which will weaken us within. Let the OPA understand that it stands at the weakest point in America's defenses, and that it must make its policies for the single purpose of mobilizing the vast power of our people to fill that breach.

Washington B. L. WINSTON

The Joads Move Up

FOLLOWING THE TRAIL of the Okies, migrant farm workers again head for the West, but today they are traveling by special trains provided by the government. They are being sent out to pick a special crop of long-staple "silk" cotton needed by the army for parachutes and barrage balloons and this migration has as large a significance for good as the old one had for evil.

Early this year growers of cotton, fruit and vegetables in the Southwest, fearing a shortage of farm labor, began demanding that the immigration bars be let down and that Mexicans be brought into the United States to work on the farms. They wanted a large labor supply at low wages and expected to get it from Mexico as they did in the last war. But there is a different regime in Mexico now and officials of the Republic south of the border demanded and obtained guarantees of a minimum wage of not less than 30 cents an hour for a ten-hour day, and decent living and working conditions for their nationals.

A few hundred Mexican workers were imported into California under such contract between the Mexican and United States governments. But why not use the experienced farm workers available in the South, who would welcome an opportunity to obtain employment in other areas of the United States under conditions provided for by the Mexican agreement? asked the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. And a union offer to recruit 1,600 farm workers from the South, to be transported either to California or Arizona, was accepted by the War Manpower Commission. The Farm Security Administration was to take responsibility for transporting them.

No little confusion and obstructionism followed. Cotton-growers of Arizona and New Mexico, most of whom were members of the American Farm Bureau Federation, refused to sign the agreement to employ workers under contract with the Farm Security Administration. The wage rates were first set in Arizona at $3 per hundred pounds for picking long-staple cotton and $1.50 for the regular variety. Though prices had advanced from 30 cents to approximately 40 cents per pound for long-staple cotton, the growers maintained that they could not pay more. Secretary Wickard realized that unless these rates were raised the average cotton-picker could not make the wage of 30 cents per hour guaranteed to Mexicans, since this "silk" cotton is twice as hard to pick. The average worker can pick only 80 to 100 pounds of long-staple but upwards of 150 pounds of short-staple cotton. The Department of Agriculture increased the load rate and boosted the price of Arizona cotton three cents per pound. The growers then agreed to pay $4 per hundred pounds for the picking, although Ed O'Neal, the Alabama planter who is president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, advised the growers to refuse to sign the contracts and went so far as to urge them to go on strike against the government next year by not planting this crop which is vital to our war needs.

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union then demonstrated how organized labor can work for constructive purposes. Officers of the union began sending out ma-

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terial to the 134 local organizations in seven Southern states, pointing out this opportunity for farm laborers, sharecroppers and tenants to find work during the winter months. A survey was undertaken to ascertain how many workers would be available for employment in Arizona. Meetings were held and copies of the Farm Security Administration agreement were distributed. The plantation workers were skeptical. They could not believe that "the government," associated in their minds with the local plantation "law," would give them any kind of break. Union leaders made an appeal to their patriotism. This cotton was needed by our army. And that approach found a ready response.

The union, with an office staff of two people, drafted volunteer workers right out of the cotton fields to help interview the applicants. Each person applying had to be informed individually of every requirement, such as the need for taking enough clothing, bedding and cooking utensils, draft-registration cards, sugar-ration books and sterilized cotton-picking sacks. And each person had to be registered with the United States Employment Service before he could sign an FSA contract.

The Farm Security Administration officials, unaccustomed to the new program, had their problems, especially in clearing the railway equipment needed to transport the workers. There was sometimes lack of coördination between the union and officials of the FSA. Sometimes the union was notified that hundreds of workers were wanted only a few days before a train would leave, and had to round them up in its own trucks. Sometimes workers would assemble at dispatch points and be told that plans were canceled. Many union members were refused certification because of pressure brought to bear upon the United States Employment Service by plantation owners. The union met with hostility from FSA officials in charge of local Labor Homes Projects, who did not want to see the projects emptied by the rush for jobs in other states.

Powerful plantation owners, who desired to keep the workers available even though there was no employment to offer them, fought the project steadily. In Arizona, where the plantation interests constitute a formidable political power, several hundred workers were refused certification. It was not a coincidence that the Arkansas Farm Bureau was meeting in Little Rock and denouncing the Farm Security Administration for setting basic standards for farm labor on the same day the state director countermanded the Washington order. The president of the National Cotton Council, Oscar Johnston, who is also manager of the largest cotton plantation in the world, publicly denounced the FSA for introducing "communism" in its arrangement to transport farm labor from one area to another and guarantee it 30 cents an hour for ten hours' work, four full days' employment a week, free housing, no employment of children under sixteen years of age and collective-bargaining rights.

But the project was successful. Through the combined efforts of the union, the FSA and the USES, 1,400 workers and their families, whites and Negroes, have been sent from idleness in the South to cotton-picking—on a vital war job—in Arizona and New Mexico. They traveled in day coaches, but they ate in diners, the regular meals that everyone else ate. They will be brought back that way, when the season is over. That's a different sort of story from the one "The Grapes of Wrath" tells!

And it suggests things for the future. The USES estimates that 19,000 workers are needed in the sugar-cane, fruit and vegetable fields of Florida. As in Arizona, growers in this state would like to have cheap labor brought in from outside the country, this time from the Bahamas. Nearby Southern states could supply these workers, and the FSA is offering the Florida growers contracts similar to those signed by the cotton-growers in the Southwest.

There is a sound economic reason why such carefully regulated and supervised migrations of workers are desirable. *For nearly six months in each year the labor on Southern farms is wasted.* The Bureau of Agricultural Economics states that in the South only 198 man-days are needed for the annual cotton crop. The workers are paid only when they work. Here is one of the primary reasons for the economic backwardness of these states—the poverty, the squalor, the poor schools, the long relief rolls.

At its Ninth Annual Convention in Memphis in November, the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union set up a special organization to serve its members who are working in other areas of the country, the Migratory Agricultural Workers' Union. A program was adopted to enlist a volunteer force of at least 10,000 farm workers who will pledge themselves to go anywhere in the United States where the government needs men to plant, cultivate or harvest crops for the war. It asks only that the basic guarantees of the FSA agreement be maintained and that it be given ten days' notice as to the time and place the workers are to assemble.

Southern Bourbons like the idea less than ever. They want their labor pool to stagnate on the spot six months in the year, as always. The Governor of South Carolina has used his power to prevent the USES from recruiting unemployed farm workers for transportation to a nearby state, and Georgia, of course, has invoked its peculiar laws to prohibit the "enticement" or "interference" with labor within its boundaries.

But the idea of putting these Americans to work in places where they are needed, during the periods when they are not doing anything at all, is too good a one to be killed. The union, the government agencies, the workers themselves have all learned a lot in this migration to Arizona and New Mexico. The Joads are on the march again—but looking up.

H. L. MITCHELL

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Trouble in Dixie

II. *The Bloody Shirt Once More*

To show the reactionary nature of the threatened Southern "secession" from the New Deal, and perhaps from the Democratic Party, some of the recent political history of Alabama is revealing, for the counter-revolution has found its leader in Gov. Frank Dixon, the retiring executive, an army flyer in the First World War who lost a leg in a plane accident in France.

Dixon, a Birmingham lawyer and a man of rather chilly personality, has given Alabama four years of relatively efficient government. He leaves office in January. Alabama Governors may be reëlected after an intervening term, and it is no secret that Dixon, for the past year, has been running furiously for 1946.

One of Dixon's old political opponents, Horace Wilkinson, a fat orator and once a power in the Klan, made the first attempt to turn the wartime restlessness in race relations into political capital. Last summer he delivered a speech inflammatory in the extreme, expressing an interest in protecting the Negro but fanning the coals of anti-Negro feeling to a white heat; and raising the ghost of old tragedy with a suggestion that the South once more take its destiny into its own hands. Thousands of copies were printed. Wilkinson's old enemy, Governor Dixon, passed out copies from his office. Here is the comment of Fred Taylor, political writer for The Birmingham News-Age-Herald, who views the whole movement objectively:

"Some observers sized up Governor Dixon's action in seizing on this red-hot political issue as motivated by the fear that his old foe, Wilkinson, might run off with it and use it with devastating effect in the next gubernatorial campaign.

"They contend the Governor well knew what an inflammable issue racial relations could be made in Alabama, particularly if fanned to white heat, and that the retiring chief executive wanted to be sure he got in on the ground floor, since it has long been known he has eyes on the governorship four years hence.

"Others are wondering, however, if Governor Dixon, bidding for a second term in 1946, and Wilkinson have really become reconciled and will be in the same political bed in the next gubernatorial campaign."

Beneath these musings lies the fact. Dixon and Wilkinson *are* working together. Their liaison man is Borden Burr, attorney for the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company and Republic Steel in Alabama. Dixon and his colleagues cold-bloodedly are working the South's deepest tragedy, race hate, for political advantage and as a means of sabotaging the New Deal. The weight behind this movement comes from the big iron and steel companies, controlled by Eastern parent corporations. This spectacle of Yankee capitalists secretly waving "the bloody shirt," the symbol with which the Reconstruction South cursed their fathers, is a bitter one. It is an example of how varied and thorough the gathering reactionary attack on the New Deal will be.

The next phase in the evolution of this political secession came when the state Democratic Executive Committee chairman, Gessner T. McCorvey, declared in a letter to National Chairman Edward J. Flynn that the administration had made it "utterly impossible" to raise party funds from Alabama Democrats, by its support of the anti-poll-tax bill, by the President's stand against race discrimination in employment, and by other actions of "the President and his wife."

McCorvey's view of democracy sets the tone of this crusade for democracy: "A great many of the thriftless, shiftless, worthless type of people, both colored and white, fail to pay their poll tax and, by reason thereof, we have a more intelligent electorate than exists in some states where all kinds of 'rabble' are permitted to work without question."

Governor Dixon's secession movement is spreading. It has been taken up actively by Gov. Sam Jones of Louisiana. Jones, the "reform" candidate who was elected when the corrupt Long machine fell apart, is a corporation lawyer and a reactionary and speaks for these elements in his state. In a recent speech in New Orleans, Jones declared the Deep South had received better social, economic and political treatment from the Republican Party than from the present Democratic administration. He echoed talk of a third party which had been brewing among Dixon's crowd in Alabama: "I don't see why we shouldn't form our own Democratic Party and join with the people of the Midwest." He proposes a Populist movement in reverse. Dixon, aided by Jones, is pressing the secession plan in the membership of the Southern Governors' Conference.

Dixon next furthered his secession crusade in a speech before the Southern Society in New York City. First he implied his approval of "the great and essential reforms of the New Deal." They all do. "We must not abandon these reforms," he said. He went on in the next breath to talk about "crackpot" reforms, "political pap-sucking" and "mess-of-pottage" government. Efforts of the President's committee on fair employment he termed "stupid tampering."

And, in a ringing voice: "Ways and means are being discussed to break our chains. We will find some way, and find it regardless of the effect on national elections, if this senseless attack keeps up."

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Dixon and his planners now have evolved the following method of attack, in which they will attempt to have the other Southern states join them: first, nonparticipation of Alabama and the other states in the 1944 Democratic national convention; this will enable voters to select unpledged representatives to the Electoral College; in the event of a close national vote, the Southern states could give either candidate the majority; or, by withholding, prevent either candidate from winning a majority, thus throwing the election into the House of Representatives, as has been done on a number of occasions in our early history; and if this were done, each state delegation would count as one vote, thus raising Alabama, with some 2,500,000 population, up to New York, with 13,000,000.

Political writers in Birmingham feel certain that Dixon and Jones will inevitably be joined by kindred spirits in a strong and well organized effort to waylay the New Deal, with a good chance of success.

At all events, the New Deal in the South is dead. And this is where the New Deal helped the most. There are millions of white and black men in the South, and their children, on blighted farms and in the slums, who lived a more bearable life because of what the Roosevelt administration made possible. But these are the poor and the ignorant, and their race hate, kept alive for years just as Dixon and the Alabama capitalists are keeping it alive now, makes them vulnerable. Of these millions of people whom the New Deal aided, the Negroes cannot vote; most of the whites who can have been poisoned by the propaganda of the reactionaries into a belief that the President and Mrs. Roosevelt are trying to wipe out all racial barriers under the war emergency; the Dixons are now in the saddle; they seem to be able to foster on the disfranchised masses anything they want to; and once more in the South's sad history, just as in the Agrarian-Populist movement in the 1890's, the people's enemies have taken over a people's movement. Once more the white man's fear of the Negro has made it possible. It is no mystery why the South's congressmen, elected by a small and privileged proportion of its population, fight so hard to defeat an anti-poll tax bill; and it is no mystery, come to think of it, why reactionary Northern members, their blood brothers, by one subterfuge and another let them get away with it.

THOMAS SANCTON

This is the second of a series of articles. – THE EDITORS

Plight of Puerto Rico

PUERTO RICO was having a hard time long before the war started in Europe. It is having a considerably harder time since the United States went into the war. The war has affected our economy in exactly the opposite way to that in which it has affected the economy of the United States as a whole. While in the continental United States unemployment has been practically abolished for the duration, in Puerto Rico, where there are no war industries, and where shipping has been reduced to a third of its peacetime proportions, unemployment has grown to the point where it affects almost half of the population. Prices have risen to higher levels in Puerto Rico than in the continental United States. Wages, for the vast majority of the people, are seldom above $200 a year per family. Puerto Rico lives, in so far as it does, from exports, and subsists, as it more or less does, through imports. Since Puerto Rico is an island, this takes ships, and she has less than a third of the ships she had before the United States went into the war.

Let me describe briefly the situation before the war. The best lands of Puerto Rico had been concentrated in the hands of a few sugar companies, many of them totally or partially absentee-owned. Millions of dollars produced by Puerto Rico left the island in absentee profits. Much profit, otherwise not absentee, was nevertheless absent from the budgets of the workers and farmers that produced it. In Puerto Rico we do not have a "submerged third"; we have a floating and sometimes drowning 90 percent and a buoyant 10 percent. Before the war the income of the submerged 90 percent did not exceed, on the average, $200 a year per family. Many of these—more than half—were also living under conditions similar to serfdom: they owned nothing but their capacity for labor and lived by tolerance on someone else's land. A study made by the University of Puerto Rico in 1939 showed that the minimum needed by an agricultural worker's family for adequate food alone on the basis of the cheapest foods usually consumed by such a family would have been $1.30 a day—about $450 a year. In 1939, a family having an income of about $200 a year needed for proper nutrition alone more than twice that amount. A study made for the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration by Mr. Manuel A. Pérez, present head of the Puerto Rican Minimum Wage Commission, shows that the average life expectation of a Puerto Rican is forty-three years, as compared with an expectation of life of fifty-eight years in the continental United States. The average Puerto Rican does not usually starve in the streets. Instead he is undernourished for forty-three years on the average and then dies.

Such a situation was bound to create a political movement aimed at correcting it. This movement apparently developed between 1938 and 1940. I say "apparently" because obviously its motivations had been accumu-

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lating since long before. The inevitable political movement aimed at correcting the appalling realities that I have pointed out was founded in the summer of 1938 and took the name of the Popular Democratic Party. This movement, with the aid of one Liberal and one Socialist vote, as a minimum, has composed the legislative majority since the elections of 1940.

The Popular Democratic movement has, I believe, a significance for America. Through it, a people never before taken seriously as a democratic factor showed a very respectable capacity for democratic practice. The custom of buying votes is of long-standing in Puerto Rico. The Popular Democratic movement spoke to the people as follows: "If you sell your votes, somebody has got to put up the money with which to buy them; after that, whoever wins the elections is tied to the fellows that gave the money to buy your votes. That is why you have seen many political parties win, while you have never won. The only way in which your votes can count to diminish your hardships is by not selling them, so that whatever party wins shall not owe anything to anyone except you." The Puerto Ricans understood.

To make still clearer the message of democracy—to connect the idea of voting with the idea of social accomplishment—the Popular Democratic Party went one step further. It drafted a number of fundamental bills. These bills were made known to the people in printed form and by radio several months before the elections. Every candidate of the Popular Democratic Party swore publicly, over the radio, to vote for these bills if elected. It was explained that thus legislative power was being transferred to the people themselves.

The chief bills for which the people of Puerto Rico voted were: the Land Act, the Minimum Wage Act, the Income Tax Act. This legislation was enacted as soon as the Legislature of 1941 convened. The Land Act implements a law of Congress approved as far back as 1900 forbidding corporations from holding or controlling more than 500 acres of land. The Land Act extended the prohibition to all other entities tending to perpetuate themselves, keeping the exemption to individuals only. The Land Act also provided for the elimination, in about ten years' time, of the "agregados," workers owning nothing but their labor power, as well as for the use of land bought from the corporations and other violators of the law on either family-size farms or larger farms in which the benefits would accrue to the workers on them. The Minimum Wage Act provided that minimum wages should be established for all workers, including agricultural workers. The Income Tax Act was a means of raising funds for carrying out the policies of the people.

The Governor of Puerto Rico at that time was Mr. Guy Swope, who had been a member of Congress from Pennsylvania. Mr. Swope signed this legislation. The minority representatives of the vested interests attacked him for signing it—that is, for respecting the democratic will of the people of Puerto Rico.

Governor Swope soon came to the States to occupy another position in the government. Rexford Guy Tugwell was appointed Governor of Puerto Rico. The attack that had begun against Governor Swope continued with increased intensity against Governor Tugwell. The attack has had better publicity in the States merely because Tugwell is better known to the reactionaries than Swope. The campaign was under way when the Japs bombed Pearl Harbor. It should be pointed out that Governor Tugwell did not initiate the reform program in Puerto Rico. The people of Puerto Rico themselves mandated that program at the polls. In doing so, our people were giving a demonstration of real democracy in the midst of a war for its preservation.

Then came the peculiar economic ills imposed on Puerto Rico by the war. Shipping was cut down to less than a third of normal. Food prices went up much faster than in the continental United States; unemployment reached tremendous proportions. Governor Tugwell has devoted his time and energy to protecting our people against the additional evils brought on by the special position of Puerto Rico in the war area.

The recent session of the Legislature of Puerto Rico imposed the highest taxes ever legislated in Puerto Rico—an income tax, a Victory tax, equal to that in the United States, and 70 percent of the rum tax to cope with the unemployment situation. Puerto Rico has never before taken care of its unemployed; the federal government had had to do that. Now Puerto Rico has approved legislation to take care of 80 percent of its unemployed. The AMA and the OPA have begun lowering the prices of food, but they are still not low enough for the purchasing power of families earning about $200 a year. We shall probably need federal aid for a food-planting program and other means of lowering the price of basic foods. But Puerto Rico has shown that she does not ask for aid from the federal government until she has taxed herself to the limit.

Speaking for the majority of our people, I wish to say that we are grateful to President Roosevelt for having appointed as governor a man who carries out the democratic mandate of our people. With regard to the attack on Governor Tugwell by minority groups we have expressed to President Roosevelt our belief that, since Tugwell represents a democratic situation in Puerto Rico, if he should leave the governorship the only democratic alternative would be to call for the immediate election of a governor by the people themselves. The appointment of another governor by Washington would be an incomprehensible denial of freedom to our people, who are making great sacrifices in the war for democracy.

Governor Tugwell himself favors the election of the Governor by the Puerto Rican people.

Washington LUIS MUNOZ-MARIN

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Washington Notes

The Yugoslav Problem

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to find out here in Washington just what is going on in Yugoslavia. But it is possible, on the basis of the known facts, to make a depressing guess. The guess obviously must be that two members of the United Nations, Great Britain on the one hand and Soviet Russia on the other, are backing rival liberation movements in the nation of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes carved out at Versailles and that the armed forces of these two movements, far from coöperating, have been fighting each other as fiercely as either of them has been fighting the German army of occupation in recent months. This guess is so freighted with sinister implications for the future of the United Nations, indeed for the future of the world, that there has been a tendency, no doubt commendable, to keep it hidden under a blanket of hope that the Yugoslav problem would soon be solved. But the problem has been essentially what it is ever since the summer of 1941, and no formula for its solution has yet been worked out. There is no question that it must be disposed of and that silence won't dispose of it.

There is no disagreement about the superficial facts. When Yugoslavia was overrun by the Germans in the spring of 1941, the government of the constitutional monarchy fled to London. The Germans, helped by their Quislings, set about turning Serbs against Croats, Croats against Slovenes; whole regions were pillaged and depopulated by murder; German immigrants were imported; every cruel trick in the Hitler book was put to use by German *Gauleiters* to destroy Yugoslavia.

But sizable bands of armed Yugoslav soldiers escaped into the mountains and refused to surrender. Among these refugees was a professional soldier, a Serb named Darzha Mikhailovich. He was a specialist in guerrilla warfare and, as a colonel, the ranking officer among the refugees. He organized the bands into an army so successfully that he soon established a large island of resistance within German-occupied Europe. His army harassed the Germans and bedeviled their Italian allies. Mikhailovich was recognized by the Yugoslav government-in-exile and helped by the British. He even established radio communication with London and become War Minister in the exiled Cabinet. His exploits attracted attention and cheers throughout the world, particularly in the United States, where Time magazine was one of the most enthusiastic media of pro-Mikhailovich publicity.

But Mikhailovich was not the only leader of opposition to the Germans. Bands of Partisans, equipped by Russia if not actually led by Russians, also took to the mountains and also resisted occupation forces. Presently the Mikhailovich army and the Partisan army, grown to comparable proportions, were fighting each other. Mikhailovich admirers called Russia's fighting friends "Communist bandits." Partisan propagandists first charged that Mikhailovich was merely a Serb nationalist bent upon selling out the rest of Yugoslavia, next that he was more interested in preserving his army than in attacking the Axis enemy and finally that he was a traitor doing business with the Italians. The Partisans won the allegiance not only of Communists but of liberal elements, including, apparently, some Catholic priests.

In the winter of 1941-42, desperate for supplies and for unity of opposition to the invaders, Mikhailovich asked the Yugoslav government in London to make representations to Russia to bring the Partisans over to his command. In response to feelers, the Russians stood on the fiction that they had nothing to do with the Partisan movement. Mikhailovich next tried to negotiate directly with the Partisans. Finally, in the spring of 1942, he put on a full-scale offensive against the Partisans and drove them out of old Serbia. Thereupon the Russian government protested to the Yugoslav government. In May, Foreign Commissar Molotov offered to enter into a pact with the Yugoslav government-in-exile, but was turned down. Thereafter communiqués on Partisan operations were released in Moscow and the Soviet press campaigned openly against Mikhailovich.

The most optimistic explanation of all this is that the disagreement between Mikhailovich and the Partisans is merely one of strategy. The Serb, it is said, wants to occupy territory which might be useful later as a jumping-off place for invasion by United Nations troops, whereas the primary concern of the Partisans is to keep the thirty Axis divisions now in Yugoslavia so occupied that they cannot be used as reserves on the eastern front. The most pessimistic explanation, and the most convincing, is that the British and Russians don't trust each other enough to join forces in Yugoslavia—that each is still playing the old game of power politics there with post-war bargaining advantage in mind.

What part the United States Government is playing in all this is problematical. Presumably none, except as it generally upholds the British hand. But unless the Yugoslav situation is cleared up, it will be a boon to the isolationists, who will call it exhibit A in the case against foreign entanglements. It is precisely the kind of complication that might drive America back into its isolationist shell.

It is notable that Louis Adamic, probably the best informed American where Yugoslav affairs are concerned, and certainly no Communist, leans to the Russian side in this Partisan-versus-Mikhailovich argument. He wants American intervention. But public opinion would not support such intervention. In fact, the Russian side of this argument, however persuasive, has slight chance for a fair hearing in this country.

The Daily Worker's extravagant attacks on Mikhailovich after he had been hailed as one of the war's great heroes was self-defeating. Most Americans probably thought, if they thought about it at all, that Time was right the first time and somehow misled by the Communists when it changed its story. The American Communist Party is an embarrassment to the Russian cause in this country and will continue to be one until it is cut loose. The superb Russian performance in this war deserves the kind of appreciation and support here that it is getting from working people in England.

T. R. B.

Washington

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Mystery Movie

TOUGH MURDER MOVIES bear the same relationship to the great movie epics as detective novels do to the latest best-seller: they are sometimes more worth spending time on. In the case of the tough movie, characterizations are often studied with more insight and originality than they are in the epics, action is better timed and sustained, behavior and environment are less given over to superficialities and gentilities, and the dialogue is good. "This Gun for Hire" had a couple of episodes in it—the opening on a flophouse with action concerning a killer and a chambermaid, and the entire, exciting chase at the end—with more drive and invention than anything in such best-sellers as "One of Our Aircraft Is Missing." In the same way, "The Glass Key," with many inadequacies, has some splendid scenes, and one portrait which should be noted.

The portrait is that of a hulking, good-natured killer named Jeff, resembling Steinbeck's Lennie and played by William Bendix. The director and Mr. Bendix, who is a more bulky blond-curled version of Louis Wolheim, create this irresponsible murderer without reserve. He loves to knock people around—he calls them bouncing balls—or choke them to death. While choking one victim thoroughly and viciously he explains that his trouble has always been a lack of aggressiveness, that anybody can work on his soft nature and get him to do anything. The light of understanding that Mr. Bendix projects in this scene is remarkable. In fact, the whole thing is a brilliant portrayal of a man proud and at the same time doubtful of his great strength, using it beyond ordinary social bounds since he hasn't the same conception of boundaries as other people.

The good scenes have usually to do with Jeff—one vivid drunk sequence that starts with a good bleary shot of a cabaret singer, proceeds through a strange mixture of sadism and affection between Bendix and Alan Ladd, and finally to a murder; another which ends in the season's most nervewracking fall, which should startle you considerably. It is an interesting Hollywood phenomenon that the tough movie is about the only kind to examine the character's actions straight and without glamor, a close appraisal of personal habits being too coarse for our Mrs. Minivers. As a result the tough movie captures a descriptive power common to the other arts. For instance, the way the political boss brushes his teeth or puts on his socks, the way Mr. Bendix spits or hugs a future victim, or how someone else fondles a bottle he is about to crack over a skull, or Mr. Ladd's speculative glance.

The film is a striking example of good movie making, which was no accident, and an equally conscious but conflicting desire to ring the box-office cash register by throwing away great hunks of film to emphasize Alan Ladd's sex appeal, and also Veronica Lake's. For Mr. Ladd, action stops while lights soften to a woolly texture on his face, and without blinking a lid or moving a muscle of his just-parted lips he mutters a virile monosyllable. Aside from this obvious and cheap exploitation he gives a rather nice, studied performance, though his every grimace, or lack of one, seems keyed to the memory of Rudolph Valentino. Many of the movie's ailments are the result of a disease common to tough detective stories, where the mystery, its detection and the unity of the story are sacrificed to sensational but irrelevant data: near-seductions, sub-rosa characters, scenes of strange violence, especially the indecent mauling the hero can and always does take.

It should be said that Brian Donlevy plays his Great McGinty again, affably as always, and that the direction of Stuart Heisler is exceptionally good in the scenes cited.

MANNY FARBER

Labor on Foreign Fronts

COMMENTING on the post-war program, Das Schwarze Korps says, "In the more responsible and difficult, but also better paid, technical and skilled work, preference ought to be given to the German worker. . . . Where one needs a foreigner, it is more fitting on racial grounds that he should in all circumstances serve the German, even if the latter has to be retrained."

Foreign workers in Germany have no rights and no representation. They are entirely at the mercy of the German Labor Front. The Niederrheinische Volkszeitung explains that the Labor Front is "compelled to act not only as their trustee but as their educator, teaching these workers that what at first was felt as compulsion is really a for their own good."

The German need for manpower is so great that the Nazis have even offered higher wages to Polish recruits, the worst-treated of the workers of all nationalities. A German broadcast to Poland declared that 55 percent of all foreign workers in the Reich were Poles. They were promised "almost full wages as paid to local labor." Exorbitant taxes deducted from their wages, however, make it impossible for Poles to earn more than 17 reichsmarks weekly.

The Westdeutscher Beobachter announces a decree to add strength to the recruiting campaign: members of the Polish race of certain ages receive food cards only when they have registered with the labor office.

The Giornale d'Italia reports that 50,000 more Italians are shortly to leave for work in Germany. It places the number now there at 500,000.

In spite of terrible famine conditions throughout Greece and threat of withdrawal of food cards from Greek workers who refused to enroll in the intensive German drive to obtain recruits for work in Germany, only 850 Greeks signed up.

Luxemburg girls of the nineteen-to-twenty age group have been sent to Poland and East Prussia to complete their training in the labor corps, and to Germany as domestic servants.

In Poland German soldiers have thrown a cordon around churches and loaded into trucks all girls who had been attending mass. They are taken to Germany as servants. Polish girls who protest the treatment accorded them as domestics are sent to brothels.

Among the rules promulgated by the Germans for Czech workers are the following: strikes are forbidden; workers may not change their employment without permission of the Labor Office; identification books must be carried by all workers between the ages of fourteen and seventy; labor duty is compulsory for the entire population between

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the ages of eighteen and sixty; workers may be sent outside the Protectorate, to work on forts and highways.

In Holland the unions have disintegrated. A Dutch Nazi, named Woutenberg, was recently made commissar of trade unions. He thought to utilize their power for his purposes by merging them all in one Dutch Labor Front. Out of 525,000 unionists who were given membership applications for this organization, 17,000 filled them in.

A Communication

Tontine Bonds

SIR: The lack of a comprehensive fiscal program for financing the war without resort to inflation is a major defect in our planning of the war effort. An impartial observer gets the impression that the "program," so far, is to raise a certain more or less arbitrary amount by taxation, to sell, by traditional methods, as many bonds outside the banks as may be, and, for the rest, to trust to luck and the banks—which means, of course, inflation.

Success in the attack on the "inflationary gap" is dependent upon a triple assault involving (1) taxation, (2) compulsory lending and (3) voluntary lending. Taxation must be pushed much farther than it has yet gone, and compulsory lending on a great scale will be required. But, in addition, every device likely to promote the sale of bonds on a voluntary basis should be explored.

Passing over taxation and compulsory saving, as subjects already thoroughly discussed, it is the purpose of this letter to call attention to the use of the tontine principle as a potentially important device in tapping, in the government's behalf, the sources of voluntary savings. The tontine, as is well known, is an arrangement under which only the *surviving* members of a group of subscribers to a long-term obligation receive any benefits under the agreement. The tontine is thus the counterpart, or complement, of ordinary term insurance since, under term insurance, it is only assignees of those who *die* during the term of the contract who receive any benefits under the agreement.

Now, for large numbers of people, it is at least as important to be insured *for* living as it is to be insured *against* dying. This is the basis, for instance, of old-age-pension systems. The relevance of this consideration to the sale of government bonds is clear. If long-term government obligations were offered to groups of persons of a given age class, with the proviso that, at the due date of the loan, the total subscriptions, plus accrued interest, would be divided among the survivors pro rata with their subscriptions, we might confidently expect a very large sale of them. Depending upon the length of the term of the contract, the age class to which it applied, and the rate of interest involved, the "pay-off" might be several times as great as that which is involved in the classes of securities now being offered by the government. To those who are unlikely to have any natural dependents at the due date of the contract, but would, otherwise, be themselves dependent, such a security would be extremely attractive. It would fill a long felt gap in our insurance structure (in which, nevertheless, the insurance companies are not interested), as well as furnish a brisk market for government securities.

The tontine has fallen into a wholly undeserved obscurity. It was well known to our forefathers, and Alexander Hamilton, in his famous report on the Public Credit, strongly recommended to Congress its use in the refunding of the public debt of that time.[1] Hamilton was so taken with its possibilities that he presented its virtues with great enthusiasm, and in detail, along with actuarial illustrations of its operation. It seems, however, that his recommendations, for no good reason, completely failed of adoption. It is not yet too late for us to profit from Hamilton's intelligence.

In the field of private insurance, where it would seem to have obvious application, the principle of the tontine has been nullified, on the ground, I believe, that one may not, under an insurance contract, be a beneficiary from the death of another person unless one has an "insurable interest" in that person. It seems very doubtful that this prohibition would apply to an issue of government bonds and, if it did, it could be eliminated by very simple legislation. It would, in any event, be fatuous, in this case, since the alleged reason for the rule—the danger of inducing murder—would be obviated by the fact that no member of the group need ever know who his fellows were.

The bonds would be sold by age classes, each of which might, perhaps, cover five years. (On this point Hamilton has suggestions which might, or might not, be followed to the letter.) For the younger age classes the bonds could be made of relatively long term, with the ultimate payments greatly increased as a consequence. Thus, for an age class thirty to thirty-five, for instance, a thirty-year-term bond might be appropriate, though there is no reason why buyers in any age class might not be given options as to the term of the security, all the buyers of any one option being grouped in a sub-class under a given contract.

The bonds would not, of course, be negotiable, which is an advantage in the circumstances, but the bonds might be given a cash surrender value according to the term which they had still to run.

The same means of identification of the holders, and beneficiaries, that is used with regard to social-security contracts would be apposite.

It seems very probable that an issue of bonds of this type would prove immensely popular and that a much larger volume of voluntary savings could thus be induced, and diverted to our present urgent needs, than we are likely to get under the methods now being used for the sale of government securities.

This is, it is true, only one of a number of expedients by which the voluntary purchase of government securities might be stimulated, but it seems likely to be as effective as any, and other devices (such as lottery loans) might well be kept in temporary abeyance while trial was made of that which is here proposed.

FRANK D. GRAHAM, Vice-President,
American Economic Association
Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

[1] Works of Alexander Hamilton, Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on Public Credit (January 9, 1790). New York: Williams and Whiting (1810).

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The Bandwagon

Cross-questioned by Mr. Crichton as to his opinion of Jordan's foreign connections, [Joseph Hilton] Smyth said the man would be "very foolish" to carry on as he did without pay, and then declared:

"I can't understand a man's participation without pay in such a bigoted and vicious pattern of propaganda, and against his own people and country." – *From The New York Times.*

Tempers of defense workers in the Richmond area were reported to be near breaking point as they tired of a week's diet of chicken and turkey. – *From The San Francisco Chronicle.*

Describing his own library, he assured his hearers that to live for fifteen years in the same room with an unread set of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall" was a liberal education in itself. – *Lord Elton, in an address to the National Book Council, as quoted in the book section of The New York Times.*

A mountain farmer, reports the county rationing board, has about found a limit to his patriotism.

"I'm trying to do my bit, patriotic-like," said the farmer, who had sworn that he and his family would abide by sugar-rationing regulations, "but I'm married, have eight children and I'm derned if I can keep on a-buyin' all that sugar." – *AP dispatch from Marion, North Carolina.*

Not Even a Dog with the Wags?

A woman said to me the other day:

"How do you stand the monotony of life—day by day with each day duller than the one before?"

I am afraid I answered rather crossly, I was so annoyed by this woman who was born with beauty and riches and has not a brother, son or even husband at the front. – *Elsa Maxwell in The New York Post.*

Total-War Department

The war in North Africa, besides its importance as a military campaign, is also having a strong effect on the coming spring styles of hats, according to Ben R. Schneider, president of Associated Millinery Industries of St. Louis. – *From The Baltimore Sun.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Dr. Edman and Thomas Mann

SIR: I have had a number of comments from well qualified persons—on Professor Edman's review, in your columns, of Thomas Mann's "Order of the Day" [The New Republic, December 7]. The trend of the comment was that only some subjective chagrin or annoyance could explain the tone of the review. This is a psychological gambit which I would not wish to pursue. But there is a point I should like to bring up.

Dr. Mann's writings divide themselves quite clearly into two groups: the epic (novel and short story) and the essay (polemic and literary). Unlike Goethe, he has not gone in for poetry or drama. The political essays in "The Order of the Day" can be regarded as a mirror of the author's organic development from that of the non-political artist to the political animal. Nobody so far as I know, certainly not the author, has ever claimed that these lectures and essays reveal great original thinking, political or otherwise. Their value is quite other than that. To pretend to pass judgment on them on such grounds is sophistical, especially since there are others upon which they might fruitfully be discussed.

It is, on the other hand, on the creative works that Mann's claim to be a "great thinker" must stand or fall. People who think it is sustained, do so because they find in them—as usually in great literature—esthetic adumbration of things to come, which cannot even be talked about except by the vehicle of music or poetry. Surely this is the province of the artist-thinker. That Professor Edman takes no account of the fact suggests that to him literature is merely a delightful diversion. Well, so it is, but not merely. And I wonder whether he would really stand to that view. I think too well of him to believe it.

Princeton, N. J. H. T. LOWE-PORTER

SIR: The tone of my review was a perfectly straightforward response to the tone of the book I was reviewing—persons qualified to judge to the contrary notwithstanding. A great many people have written me thanking me because someone had at long last called attention to the difference in quality between the works of Thomas Mann the artist and those of Thomas Mann the pamphleteer and the writer of pronunciamentos.

I do indeed regard literature as something more than "mere decoration." My respect for Thomas Mann as an artist is so great that I think it no disservice to him or to the public to distinguish between those works of his that display his art and those that only display his name.

As to the character of the claim made for "Order of the Day," I quote from the publisher's description on the jacket: "Today Dr. Mann's reputation as one of the truly great minds of our time rests not only on his novels but on what he has written concerning the crucial issues in a world at war with fascism."

Columbia University, New York City IRWIN EDMAN

Mr. Johns Protests

SIR: In The New Republic of May 18, 1942, there are statements about me that are false. For instance, your article dealing with me says that in the 1938 election, "Mr. Johns got elected by a couple of thousand votes." This statement is utterly false. . . . I had two opponents, Mr. George J. Schneider, a Progressive, whom I beat by 4,319 votes, and Mr. John E. Cashman, a Democrat, whom I beat by 5,133. Of course the statement that Kiwanis International plus the Republican Party is responsible for my being in Congress is not the truth because the voters of the Eighth District, Republicans, Democrats and Progressives, are responsible for me being here.

The most serious statement made in the article is that:

For many years, Mr. Johns has been interested in a business belonging to his first wife, known as the Algoma Plywood and Veneer Company. The employees of this company were paid

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the munificent sum of 10 cents an hour over a long period of time. In June of 1941, the American Federation of Labor attempted to organize the plant, and met with such resistance that the case finally came before the National Labor Relations Board, where the findings proved the management guilty of unfair labor practices.

This statement, also, is absolutely false. . . . Neither Mrs. Johns nor myself ever owned a dollar's worth of stock in the Algoma Plywood and Veneer Company. The name of my company at Algoma, Wisconsin, is the Plumbers Woodwork Company and of course the statement that the employees of my company "were paid the munificent sum of 10 cents an hour over a long period of time" is absolutely false. . . . The statement that "in June, 1941, the American Federation of Labor attempted to organize the plant, and met with such resistance that the case finally came before the National Labor Relations Board, where the findings proved the management guilty of unfair labor practices," is wholly false and without any foundation whatever. The fact of the matter is that when the American Federation of Labor organized my factory, I made a speech—and Providence has provided me with a copy of it—in which I told my men that it was their privilege to join a union if they wanted to join it, and men are working in my factory today who will testify to that fact. There never was a time that the National Labor Relations Boards found my company guilty of any unfair labor practices. If they did, neither myself nor anybody connected with the company knew anything about it, and certainly we would not have been found guilty without a hearing of some kind. . . . You know, as well as I do, that this article has not only reached my own district but has reached other places throughout the United States. As a past president of Kiwanis International, I am known to many members of Kiwanis Clubs in the United States as well as in Canada, and to have a thing of this kind go out holding me up to public ridicule is more than I feel I ought to stand.

House Office Building, Washington, D. C. JOSHUA L. JOHNS

[We very much regret that because of a misunderstanding of a long-distance telephone conversation, the name of Mr. Johns's company was misstated. We also regret our loose statement about the size of Mr. Johns's vote in 1938.

Aside from these two points, we do not find any substantial inaccuracy in our comment on Mr. Johns, who was defeated for reëlection last November with strong opposition of all organized-labor groups in his district. We have in our possession the names of two of his employees who say that they were paid only ten cents an hour until this practice was made illegal by the Wisconsin Labor Relations Act. We are informed by the National Labor Relations Board that on four different occasions charges were filed against Mr. Johns's company. Two of these resulted in elections in the plant and two others were dropped.

The charge has repeatedly been made in public that during the days of the NRA Mr. Johns's employees received pay vouchers at the legal minimum rate of 40 cents an hour but that for some time these were paid off at the rate of 30 cents an hour. The State Council of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America forced restitution of about $2,500 representing this difference. It is further charged that during a labor dispute, Mr. Johns locked out his employees and that he admitted in a letter to the Wisconsin Unemployment Insurance Department that the plant had closed down pending an agreement with the workers. He certainly cannot deny that over a substantial period of time there was labor trouble in his plant, or that organized labor in his congressional district is markedly hostile to him.

Our main interest in Mr. Johns was of course his record in Congress. He voted wrong on eighteen out of twenty of the crucial issues selected by The New Republic as test votes. — THE EDITORS]

The War and Quebec

SIR: Quebec is being presented to Americans as a living museum of the Middle Ages, a stronghold of reaction. It is true there are certain groups among both English and French who would like to keep it so—and, by no accident, a reservoir of cheap labor. But Quebec is changing fast. It has become a great industrial province; it is becoming part of the modern world. The greatest factor in this change is the recent tremendous drive of the international unions.

In the last six months 60,000 workers have joined unions affiliated to the Trades and Labor Congress, which represents the AFL in Canada. The biggest new membership is in the metal trades, but the munitions workers are being rapidly organized in their own union. Forty percent of these new unionists are women. In spite of the delay and opposition of the government war labor boards, the Catholic syndicates, which are the Church's substitute for trade unions, and the interference of company unions, contracts have been signed with the biggest firms, production committees set up and labor given its chance to drive for victory in the war.

It is inconceivable that women who have taken their part in this movement—and there are many married women in munitions plants—should ever again submit meekly to the antiquated laws which make a married woman subject to her husband as to person and property. Already, for instance, some hospitals are waiving for those with husbands overseas the provision which requires the husband's signature before the wife may have an operation. Women are getting into politics, into law, into medicine. While the pro-fascist forces are strong and extremely articulate, and the government loath to act forcefully against them, there is an active opposition to them. It comes from the desire of working men and women to have equal wages with the rest of Canada, equal opportunity for their children through compulsory education, freedom to think and act.

Montreal, Can. MIRIAM CHAPIN

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Erin Samson of McLean, Virginia, points out that Henri de Kerillis was not an "extreme Rightist leader," as he was called in The New Republic of December 7, but rather a man of the Center Right.

William Crocker of Prescott, Arizona, and Hope Robertson Norburn of Asheville, North Carolina, both answer Rollo Walter Brown's question "Why Not a Free India Now?" (The New Republic of November 30) by giving reasons why in their opinion it would be impossible for Britain to free India as long as the war continues. Mr. Crocker stresses the minority problem as the paramount one, and Mrs. Norburn emphasizes the many political differences within India.

The National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver, Colorado, has conducted a survey which indicates that while most Americans are ready to make large sacrifices to win the war, very few are prepared to make any sacrifices to win the peace. This is particularly true, the Research Center says, of economic issues, three quarters of those interviewed favoring a total exclusion of foreign beef, sugar and wool or advocating tariffs or quotas on these products to maintain high prices. The Research Center concludes that "public opinion today is not prepared to go along with those experts who believe that peace rests as much on a foundation of economic justice and equality as on military victory and political organization."

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Books in Review

Man of Good Will

THERE IS a long pause in the conversation, and then I happen to say that I have just been reading a new novel by Upton Sinclair. "Won't you tell me about it?" asks the family friend.

"I'd rather talk about the novelist. Upton Sinclair has been practising his profession since he was sixteen, and he is now more than sixty-four. Next year will be his golden wedding with literature. He has published thirty-one novels, mostly oversize, besides an assortment of plays, political tracts, social inquiries and exhortations, studies in health, studies in the conduct of life, studies in religion and telepathy, autobiographies, boys' books and miscellaneous pamphlets. In foreign countries, he is probably the best known American writer, there being more than 772 translations of his works into forty-seven languages, including Tamil and Mandarin. In Russia they appear in editions of several hundred thousand copies. I never read any of them."

"Nor did I," said the family friend, "though it always bothered my conscience. Tell me about his new book."

"He calls it 'Wide Is the Gate."[1] It's the fourth volume of the Lanny Budd series, in which the author intends to deal with this whole period of world wars and revolutions. The series will continue, novel after novel, till one of two men dies, either Hitler or the author, and I'd rather write insurance on Upton Sinclair."

"But tell me what the book is like," says the family friend.

"What was Europe like from the autumn of 1934 till the spring of 1937? King Alexander of Yugoslavia was assassinated. Germany won the plebiscite in the Saarland. Mussolini invaded Ethiopia. Hitler marched his troops across the Rhine, thus ending the Era of Versailles. There was a Popular Front in France and Spain, but the Spanish generals revolted and Blum was afraid to help the Spanish republic. You remember all that, don't you?"

"I thought you told me that 'Wide Is the Gate' was a novel, not a textbook."

"Well, it is a novel, so to speak, but the hero is one of those convenient nobodies with a talent for meeting everybody and seeing everything. He persuades Sir Basil Zaharoff to invest in a new aviation factory, he sells pictures for Hermann Goering and uses his profits to finance the German underground, he visits Hitler at Berchtesgaden, he happens to be in Spain when the revolution breaks out, he—"

"But wait a minute. Doesn't he have any private life?"

"Oh, yes, he's married to a woman with an income of a million dollars, but she doesn't like his political opinions. After she takes a trip to Reno, he marries a beautiful German Socialist so they can mourn together about the fate of the world. Here's how he makes passionate love to her after yearning for months on end."

Paging through the book I find a marked passage. " 'Our property system,' Lanny says, 'has many terrifying aspects. For a matter of twenty years I have been observing its power to distort and destroy human minds and characters. It constitutes a force so overwhelming that only a small fraction of mankind has any chance of resisting it.' And the author comments—listen to what he says—'This was a strange kind of wooing; but it was Lanny's kind, and its ardor, while carefully repressed, would be sensed by a woman of Trudi's understanding.' "

"It was fraught with interest," says the family friend.

"As for Lanny, his personal life is confused with his public life. He eats and sleeps politics, he marries and divorces politics, but chiefly he watches politics and listens to politicians. He is not so much a man as a pair of eyes and a dozen pair of ears. When he sees an old friend, he thinks to himself, 'Here's a chance to find out about the New Deal!' or else the author explains, 'It had become Lanny's duty to meet many such persons, to hear them talk and understand them as products of their environment.' I wish he understood them better as people."

"So you don't like the novel?" says the family friend.

"I like and respect the author. I respect him because he says exactly what he thinks, even if it often sounds foolish to others and will eventually sound foolish to himself; he is willing to confess his mistakes. I respect him because he has acquired a great deal of sober wisdom about political affairs, and because he talks better sense than the people who laugh at him. And I respect him, too, because he has retained an old-fashioned and innocent love for mankind. Do you think it is possible for a man to be too good to become a great novelist?"

"Tolstoy was an even better man than Upton Sinclair."

"Yes, but he had a wilder youth and always had to fight the evil in his heart. He never had any trouble depicting villains. Sinclair, on the other hand, is so kindly and trusting—till each new disillusionment—and so convinced that men are naturally good unless distorted by the property system, that you deplore his villains instead of hating them. They are merely products of their environment.

"Perhaps this colorless picture of human motives was less of a fault in those earlier novels that I haven't read. But here he is dealing with a period of moral dissolution, marked by the reappearance of deliberate evil—of Satan himself, you might say, stalking the earth in a form that he hadn't assumed since the Middle Ages. Sinclair doesn't believe in Satan; at heart he doesn't even believe in Heinrich Himmler. He is a capable writer when explaining the connection between economics and politics, but he never casts much light on the connection between politics and the human soul. You never feel in reading him that men, through committing political crimes, have been turned into monsters, or that they come to enjoy cruelty for its own sake, or that the political chaos in Europe—and in America too—was paralleled by a moral chaos. Instead you feel dull and slightly uplifted, as if the editorial page of an old-fashioned Socialist newspaper had been rewritten in terms of action and dialogue, but without being dramatized."

MALCOLM COWLEY

[1] Wide Is the Gate, by Upton Sinclair. New York: The Viking Press. 761 pages. $3.

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Prophet with Too Much Honor

The Command of the Air, by Giulio Douhet. Translated by Dino Ferrari. New York: Coward-McCann. 394 pages. $4.

SINCE THE FIELD OF AIR WARFARE is a highly controversial one, it is helpful to have the writings of General Douhet available in English, if only to show how wrong he was about the role of air power in the next (*i. e.*, the present) war, how he hedged on the very heart of his doctrine in 1921 for personal and political reasons, and to demonstrate once again how confusion and repetitiousness are sometimes taken to indicate profundity and prescience. A reading of this overstuffed volume will not build up Douhet as the father of air warfare or a prophet of modern war. On the contrary, when confronted with his own words, disillusionment is inescapable. It is something like discovering that the "Cardiff Giant" was a fraud or that the "Loch Ness Monster" was merely a sea lion.

One should not, of course, hold General Douhet responsible for the blurbs of his American publisher, but the declaration that this is "the most important work ever written on air power and its effective use in war" must not go unchallenged. I suggest that the editorial assistant who cooked up this phrase do penance by reading through the monumental six-volume official history: "The War in the Air: Being the Story of the Part Played in the Great War by the Royal Air Force," by W. A. Raleigh and H. A. Jones (Oxford, 1922-37). The further claim that Douhet's ranks with the works of Mahan and Clausewitz can be judged by anyone familiar with their works. As a prophet of air warfare, Douhet was by no means alone in 1921, for Admiral Bradley A. Fiske published his "Art of Fighting" the year before, and then forecast the revolutionary impact of air power on warfare. He did not believe, as Douhet did, that the air weapon alone could bring about a military decision in its existing state of technical imperfection. The doctrines of Billy Mitchell announced at about the same time have been widely publicized.

General Douhet's moral and intellectual reliability is revealed in an early stage of the book. In 1921, when he wrote the first part of his "Command of the Air," he sponsored the survival of auxiliary (army and navy) air forces as against a separate and independent air force for reasons of personal and political security. "Then," to use his words, "came a revolution [the march on Rome] which really provoked thought." He then felt it was wise to abandon his support of auxiliary air forces and wrote: "I made the admission that the auxiliary air forces should be retained, though I was, and still am, convinced that one is incompatible with the other. This was a weakness on my part, I admit. But the things one must go through to make common sense prevail! For the rest, anyone who read through Part I with attention must have understood perfectly that I considered auxiliary aviation *worthless, superfluous, harmful.*" Billy Mitchell was never guilty of this kind of double-talk on fundamentals.

The present volume consists of Part I of Douhet's "Command of the Air," which was written in 1921; Part II, which was published "after thought provoked" by the Fascist revoluton; a long essay, "The Probable Aspects of the War of the Future," published in 1928; a series of "polemics" which appeared in various Italian journals in reply to reviewers and critics; and last, "The War of 19—," in which Germany's air fleets organized on Douhet's lines annihilate France and Belgium in a single day.

His ideas about air power can be set down as follows:

1. The purpose of air warfare is to attain command of the air.
2. Having command of the air, aerial forces should crush the moral and material resistance of the enemy by attacks against surface targets.
3. For these purposes the strongest possible independent air force is essential.
4. No resources should be diverted to auxiliary aviation or anti-aircraft defense.
5. Air warfare admits no defensive attitudes, only the offensive.
6. Air warfare will be fought and decided solely by forces ready to act the instant hostilities break out.
7. Offensive air operations can not only cut off an opponent's army and navy from its base of operations, but can also bomb the interior so devastatingly that the physical and moral resistance of a people will collapse.
8. All this is a present (1921) possibility.

The rest of the volume may be described as a recapitulation and expansion of these ideas. CAPT. H. A. DEWEERD

Journal of a Generation

American in Search of a Way, by Walter Morris. New York: The Macmillan Company. 441 pages. $2.75.

Perhaps what I think is peculiar to myself is common to most all of us.—*Walter Morris at the age of twenty*

"AMERICAN IN SEARCH OF A WAY" is the journal kept by Walter Morris from his twelfth until his thirty-fifth year, terminated only by his induction into the army. It is a full record of a life, of an intellectual, emotional and moral history. Touch this book, and, as with Whitman, you touch a man.

He was born in 1907 in Johnstown, New York, and spent most of his life in nearby Gloversville. The early pages of his journal show him as a mischievous boy and although a diarist, normal in all respects and not particularly introverted. A few years mark the improvement of his spelling and his intellectual awakening. He has talent for music, drawing and writing. In 1928 he enters the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, and two years later his Search proper begins.

Tonio Kröger to the contrary, Morris' early development showed an increased participation in the life about him rather than a growth of detachment. From the start his sensibility made him the representative, not the exceptional man. He had his share of loneliness; but his isolation was more a matter of circumstance than an alienation fostered by a mournfully indulgent ego. That this casts him into the type of the American artist, one cannot say. But there is a sturdiness to his temper which persists through his later years, giving equal sway to the artist and the man.

At Michigan he began to write poetry and fiction, and

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his teachers encouraged him. At the same time he showed an aptitude for philosophy and was drawn to Plato and Santayana. He speculated on Pure Being and a life of ascetic devotion while recognizing the demands of matter and the claims that his own appetites put upon him. Eventually, he resigned himself to the duality of flesh and spirit. But the resignation, much like the original preoccupation with the Ideal, was a reflection of his discouragement. Unable to attain his goal outside himself, he had erected the unattainable within. So with his philosophical realism, where frustration also had a guiding hand. Poverty, which would never leave him, had already made itself felt. Rejection slips were beginning to pile up. Ideal conflicts have their counterpart in the mundane, and into the reconciliations which a man seeks among events as among ideas, the same sad note creeps in. Fortunately, sections of his journal won him an Avery Hopwood Award in 1933 and 1934. But thereafter he was on his own, and he left the Graduate School without taking his M.A. The frustrations he was to suffer were to be all the more bitter for involving simple needs. Men want wives, families and decent jobs, but Morris felt himself unequipped to make a satisfactory adjustment, and he did not know what he would do with himself in this world. "Apparently, one may as well howl for the moon." For a while he worked on the HOLC in Detroit, which bored him. Finally, in 1935, he went back to Gloversville, where he was to stay seven years until his induction.

It was in Gloversville that his agony began—Gloversville, a small town where, "by conservative estimate, Mrs. Grundy peeks from every third window." He was close to thirty, unsuccessful in love, penniless, and dependent on his father. He suffered from severe sinus headaches, insomnia and depression. "Many in my generation," he writes, "have become State psychiatric charges, with no disgrace." But as he watched the spreading waste of his life he began to see in it the ruin that was falling everywhere upon the world. The war in Spain had begun, and with it the betrayal of the democracies. Gradually his political orientation took shape. At first he found it a mild process after the dilemmas of the spirit. But in the end he joined the Communists with a strange zeal that was half-conviction and half-guilt. He left the Ivory Tower (which he had never inhabited—guilt makes curious confessions) and stabled his White Charger. "Goodbye, Mr. Yogi," he wrote, addressing his old self, and he vowed to read no more "leisure-class literature."

He joined with the Communists for the reason most men join: he was a man of good will, sincere in his concern for the world. But after a year he left in disgust. He left for the reason that most men leave: he had remained sincere, a man of good will. The role of the GPU in Spain, the Moscow trials and the absence of democracy in the party were too much for him. He was disillusioned with the entire Marxist movement in America, Trotskyist as well as Stalinist. The Marxists, he suggests, are the expatriates who never left home. Their ideology and motives are predicated on Russia's foreign policy, nowhere suited to the needs and interests of the American working class. The only Marxist group with a native tradition that he could find was the Socialist Labor Party, the smallest and least effectual of them all. For himself, he retained only a belief in liberal socialism, democratic, free of violence and opposed to the Jesuitical doctrine of the means justifying the end.

But in the party he at least learned a trade. He had become an accomplished mimeographer; and now set up the Mimeo Shop in Gloversville to make himself independent of his father. He began to write again, and he had a love affair with a Jewish girl named Bimba. But the returns of the Mimeo Shop were scant; the stories made the round of Harpers, The Atlantic, Story Magazine to no avail, and the novel he had written was promptly rejected. And Bimba, whom he had loved for two and a half hopeless years, proved too much attached to her home and her parents' anti-Goyism to marry him. He had had affairs before. It was marriage that he wanted, and a family, a fully adult adjustment, but this never came. Frustration seemed his constant lot: economic, literary and sexual failure. And then the war broke out and he felt it would soon be over with him.

But a man grows for all that. In leaving the party he returned to himself. Zest came back to him at the moment one might have expected his resources to be at their lowest point, and his journal picked up new vitality. He had learned, through political activity, to admire the vigor which a social orientation will impart to thought. Now he will become a composite individual finding good in all men who can build—engineers, architects, technologists—and asserting them all in himself and in his work. Spirit had not left him. The bite of failure was dulled, but only because he had learned to suffer it and had turned, maturely, with a disillusioned joy, to the affirmation of life:

> Something almost pounds at me these days to keep clear of the religions of despair, of the art and literature of what is variously called "fin de siècle," "coterie," "decadent," and of what I now call "alienating" philosophies. . . . I do not want to be alienated from reality, intellectually, by an epistemology; or alienated from life, emotionally, by a religion or an art or a philosophy. I will keep to the realism of the average man, sharing his "animal faith" so far as that is possible without sharing his uncritical assumptions.

He had found his Way. Then, as though in reward for his faithfulness, the very journal which marked his progress was accepted for publication. Shortly thereafter he was inducted into the army.

His journal is not only remarkable for the experience it records—it is Everyman's story, the experience of an entire generation—but also for the display of the resources Morris brought to counter his experience. Morris did more than learn from his life—an empirical wisdom after all the easiest to come by. He withstood it, a braver accomplishment. The frustrations he encountered were the same that have turned almost his entire generation into underground men—men who are not so much beyond belief as below it, incapable of the desperate exertion of rising which an affirmation of our time demands. This is the generation which remembers the last war dimly, and the depression clearly; which was sustained by the WPA only to see the rise and flourishing of fascism, the death of Spain and the disgrace of the democracies; which lost, in Stalin, the last hope of imminent socialism and in the present war the hope of its own survival. That such men, moral undergroundlings, cannot affirm values which they never possessed is

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hardly a matter for wonder, and even less for blame. The affirmation of life in our time is an act only a transcendental man can perform, one who would be mad for his joy, "a psychiatric charge, with no disgrace," were he incapable of transcending his experience. But ages and generations do not come that way. Man, for the most part, is either below his experience or level with it and *"kann nicht anders."* That Walter Morris, whose frustrations were of the deepest, could survive honest and unbroken and still capable of joy, makes his triumph all the greater, giving it a fidelity to life which surpasses the very experience entered here.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

Radio Theatre and Its Medium

Plays for Americans: Thirteen New Non-Royalty Radio Plays, by Arch Oboler. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 279 pages. $2.50.

RADIO DRAMA is a youngster among our art-forms, and like its elders it is learning that it does best when it remembers to be itself and not merely to imitate father drama or its glamor-girl big sister in Hollywood. It hasn't the color and three-dimensionality and magnificent solidity of the stage; it hasn't the traveling and richly perceptive eye of the camera. By seizing boldly on these very limitations, however, the radio dramatist can turn them to instruments of power.

No writer for radio has shown a keener recognition of these facts than Arch Oboler, one of the ablest technicians of the radio theatre. Not boiled-down tabloid versions of theatrical or film hits, his plays are conceived for and in terms of their medium. If not always satisfying on the deepest level of interpreting and clarifying experience, they show that radio drama can stand on its own feet and tell a story in radio terms.

From Mr. Oboler's practice we may see how the radio dramatist can make his medium the source of his strength. He can shift the stage as quickly and often as the camera-eye; he can dart back and forth as quickly in time. He can evoke a background by an adroitly chosen detail: the splash of water and tinkle of dishes in a kitchen sink, the sound of a baby sucking on a bottle. He can do interior monologue more convincingly than the film, which usually seems to be embarrassed by having to keep a stream of pictures going, and is apt at such times to slop over into dreamy landscapes, waving apple blossoms and symbolic cloud effects. For certain dramatic purposes the absence of scenery is a positive advantage. No scene can add to the tension and terror suggested by three footsteps faltering across a floor and then silence. And in rendering memories, visions, hallucinations, fantasy, it is hard to make real settings convincingly dreamlike. From "The Bluebird" to Disney's "Fantasia," both stage and screen have run to effetely classical peristyles, or medieval castles like something imagined by Ludwig of Bavaria, or broken out in a rash of angular abstractions and expressionismus.

Not all Mr. Oboler's thirteen "Plays for Americans," to be sure, are imaginatively satisfying. When they are not, though, the defect lies not in the technique, but in the imaginative conception itself. The fantasy of "Adolph and Mrs. Runyon" is weakened by the naturalistic device of explaining it as a dream; the satire of "Memo to Berchtesgaden" is too heavy and easy; the endeavor, in "Letters at Midnight," to explode one final shock by revealing that it was written by a man who died at Pearl Harbor, is too obviously tricky. These are the relative failures. For the successes, one could indicate "Blood Story," with its effective background of beating heart and blood coursing through the veins; the pathos of "Paul Reverski," a little boy trying in vain to help his warring country, but accomplishing more than he knows; and finally "The Welburns—a Confidential Report," a deeply moving statement of American faith. All told, these dramas are fruitful evidence that a new artistic medium is coming of age.

EDGAR JOHNSON

A Reader's List

MR. JUSTICE HOLMES, by Francis Biddle (Scribner's, $2.50). The Attorney General of the United States has written about the great Justice whom he once served as law secretary. There is little that is new in the way of biographical information, and little in the way of psychological insights. But there are some good new anecdotes, some letters to Owen Wister that have not hitherto been used by commentators on Holmes, and some good sense about the sort of man he was. This is not a legal or political analysis, but a set of scattered personal impressions: yet diffuse as they are, they do manage to make Mr. Justice Holmes come to life.

CLIMATE MAKES THE MAN, by Clarence A. Mills (Harpers, $3). Dr. Mills has spent many years studying the effect of climate on the human organism. His conclusions are not very startling but they confirm the doctrine that the temperate zone, without extremes of heat or cold, is the best for human activity. Dr. Mills stresses the harm done when an individual thoroughly accustomed to one type of climate is removed for a long period to another. If you live in a smoky city in the northeastern United States and have sinus trouble, he would probably advise you to go and live in Arizona.

SMALL BUSINESS PROBLEMS: Record Keeping for Small Stores, Senate Committee Print No. 11, by Charles H. Welch and Charles H. Sevin; POOLING FOR PRODUCTION, Senate Committee Print No. 12, by Bertram M. Gross; SMALL RETAILERS FACE THE WAR, Senate Committee Print No. 13, prepared under direction of Charles C. Fichtner in consultation with Bertram M. Gross. Printed for the Special Committee to Study Problems of American Small Business. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. The three government pamphlets cover various problems that small business has had to face in the last few years, particularly the ones arising out of war production. Pamphlet No. 12 deals succinctly with several pooling plans devised to overcome bottlenecks in production caused by the waste and idleness of small-plant facilities. Pamphlets 11 and 13 discuss problems of small retail business; pamphlet 11 offers suggestions for efficient record keeping of sales, expenditures, taxes, etc.; pamphlet 13 describes readjustments that retail business has had to make to rationing and other wartime conditions.

POST-WAR AGENDA (National Resources Planning Board). This pamphlet, which outlines in question form some of the problems which we must solve in post-war years, is intended to stimulate government agencies, private business and individuals to think and plan how we are going

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to build the kind of world we want. There are 119 questions, grouped under such headings as "Plans for Demobilization," "Plans with Private Enterprise," "Plans for International Collaboration," and so on. The National Resources Planning Board, Washington, D. C., which offers the pamphlet free on request, has made a fine start in the enormously important job of preparing for peace.

WITH A HAYS NONNY NONNY, by Elliot Paul and Luis Quintanilla (Random House, $2). A satire on Hollywood, using the rather corny device of retelling six Biblical stories to conform to the Hays Code. The style is the one the authors developed in "Intoxication Made Easy," chatty conversation by Paul, wry line drawings by Quintanilla. At its worst it is as bad as the Hemingway dialogues with his fictitious Old Lady; at his best it gives a nice effect of informality. Some of the pieces, particularly the legend of Ruth as a story of the Okies, are genuinely funny, but the authors never quite made up their minds whether they are satirizing the real viciousness of Hollywood, the reactionary political and moral censorship, or just the general stupidity and illiteracy of producers who think Jonah should have a love interest. And nothing in the book is quite so funny as the Hays Code, which is reprinted complete. A great come down for the man who wrote "Life and Death of a Spanish Town" and the artist who did "All the Brave."

HOW TO WIN ON THE HOME FRONT, by Helen Dallas (Public Affairs Pamphlets, 10 cents.) An explanation of the present system of rationing of consumers' goods, the reasons why rationing is necessary and many useful facts and hints as to how the housewife can do her buying with maximum economy and efficiency and maximum helpfulness to the war effort. Much of the information comes from publications of the Department of Agriculture. It is written in popular style.

THANKLESS CHILD, by Frank Swinnerton (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50). A moderately long, slow novel about the leechlike love of a father for his motherless daughter. The father comes through as a magnificent, complex character: selfish, hypocritical, whining, unscrupulous, emotionally parasitic, yet somehow believable and sympathetic. The other characters, including the daughter and her lover, are inevitably dwarfed by this Titan, and most of them are as wooden as a priority bedspring. For some reason, the characters have names like Mordred Snape, Harold Sniggs, Lovat Kyle and Old Scoble. Swinnerton's writing, as always, is sensitive and intelligent, but Christina Stead did a similar story (and very similar character) infinitely better in "The Man Who Loved Children."

Contributors

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